[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह]

है उससे वहां पर दंगे होने का अल्पसंख्यकों के मन में डर हो रहा है। जब केन्द्रीय पुलिस बल वहां से विदड्रा की जा रही हैं तो वहां के लोग घबरा रहे हैं। अभी वहां पोजिशन यह है कि हमारे बिहार में 100 स्क्वायर किलोमीटर एरिया को देखने के लिए सिर्फ 44 पुलिस के आदमी हैं जो सिविलियन हैं, उनके पास आर्म्स भी नहीं हैं। आबादी के हिसाब से देखा जाए तो 1,000 की आबादी के लिए .9 पुलिस की वहां व्यवस्था है। इस तरह की व्यवस्था वहां पर है और अगर वहां से पुलिस बल विदड्रा कर लिया जाए और दूसरी तरफ मंदिर मस्जिद के झगड़े को लेकर तनाव की स्थिति बढ़ जाए तो वहां स्थिति भयंकर हो सकती है। वहीं पर आडवाणी के रामरथ को रोका गया था। केन्द्रीय पुलिस बल उस समय वहां उपस्थित थे, इसलिए वहां पर दंगा नहीं हुआ था। जब केन्द्रीय सरकार वहां से पुलिस बल विदड्रा कर लेगी तो अल्पसंख्यकों के मन में यह भय पैदा हो रहा है कि वहां पर बहुत बड़े दंगे हो सकते हैं। मंत्री महोदय आप बिहार से आते हैं, जरा मेरी बातों पर ध्यान दें। मैं कह रहा था कि वहां से केन्द्रीय पुलिस बलों को विदड्रा किया जा रहा है जिससे माइनॉरिटीज के मन में आशंका है कि वहां दंगे हो सकते हैं। कोई भी वाक्या हो जाएगा तो केन्द्रीय सरकार उसके लिए जिम्मेदार होगी क्योंकि वहां से केन्द्रीय पुलिस बलों को विदड्रा कर रही है। साढ़े 8 करोड़ की पापुलेशन के लिए राज्य पुलिस बल की संख्या 77315 है। वहां केन्द्रीय पुलिस बलों के समर्थन से राज्य की अवस्था सुधरी रहती थी। लेकिन पिछले डेढ़ साल से वहां पर सांप्रदायिक दंगों का जो माहौल चल रहा था वह और बढ़ेगा और वहां पर दंगे हो सकते हैं।

मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि केन्द्रीय बलों को वहां रोका जाए और अतिरिक्त पुलिस बल भेजकर वहां की जनता को दंगों से सुरक्षा का आश्वासन दिया जाए।

वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर): मैं समझता हूं कि माननीय सदस्य ने जो विचार रखे हैं वह सभी दृष्टियों से उपयुक्त हैं। हम इनकी भावनाओं से गृह मंत्री जी को अवगत कराएंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now the matter is closed. We continue with the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

Shri V. M. Jadhav.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS——Contd

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak on the President's Address. My esteemed colleague, Smt. Jayanthi Natarajan had initiated the discussion and it was seconded by Shri Syed Sibtey Razi. This is the darkest period in Indian history as far as the law and order situation is concerned We, both the Upper House and the Lower House, are meeting in the Session in the absence of our late beloved leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The country has paid a very heavy price for the misrule of the previous Governments. There were two Governments in a period of 18 months. Just now, the Members from the Opposition are talking about the transfer of gold and other things. Why has this situation arisen now? That is the main question. Why had it not happened 18 months ago? The hon. Member said that every country can pay 15 per cent of gold to a foreign bank. There is nothing wrong about that. But frequently, we are transferring gold from our country to a foreign bank to acquire foreign exchange and get loan from them. That is not a very honourable thing to our country because our country is facing a total crisis. I remember what late Shri Yashwantraoji Chavan, former Deputy Prime Minister said, when Indiraji died, "Our country is pass-

ing through the darkest tunnel and I do not see light at the end." That is the kind of law and order stiuation in our country, today. Now, the question before the Congress Party is, how these things are to be met? from that point of view, this one-month old Government is taking appropriate measures to set things right. Now, it is the responsibility of the responsible opposition parties to give us the necessary co-operation. This is not a question to be discussed on the basis of parties. This is a quetion of the survival of the country as a whole. When we look at the law and order situation in the country, disturbances in Punjab have been going on for the last several years and, we have paid a very heavy price by losing our esteemed Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She has given her life and every drop of her blood to uphold the integrity of this country. The same thing happened to Shri Rajiv Gandhi too. When are we going to stop this? Are we going to consider the nation as a whole or not? We have a minority government. I remember, in 1969, when the Congress was in a minority at that time, Smt. Indira Gandhi appealed to all the like-minded parties, particularly, the Left Parties to support the socialist policies which were adopted by Indiraji. At that time, all the Communist Parties came to her rescue. Basically, I am also a person who is having a very deep-rooted faith in radical policies. My whole generation—all my family members—is with the Left Parties. Wherever poverty prevails, we must try to eradicate that. Problems cannot be solved by mere slogans—"Everything should be socialised, everything should be nationalised. Everything should be managed in the proper way". That is not the way. That is not the answer to the present situation. The Congress Party came to power about twenty-eight days ago. We had nineteen months of misrule by the Janta Dal Government and later on the Samajwadi Janata Party Government. The Janata Dal Government was supported by the B. J. P. They cannot say now that they are not responsible for the omissions and commisisons of the previous Government. They cannot say that they were not a party. They gave unconditional support to the V. P. Singh Government. They did not lay down any condition that they would support the Government only on the basis that the Ram temple would be constructed. They did not lay down any such condition. They gave upconditional support. But one fine morning, when they saw that the V.P. Singh Government was going against certain principles and values, which would not be beneficial to their Party. they came up with the idea of Ram Rath Yatra. This was the most shameful act. It is condemnable that people take the name of God for coming to power. Such things should not happen. Ours is a secular country There are four-five main religions in our country. We have adopted the policy of non-alignment on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi and this policy has been successfully implemented by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and, particularly, Late Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Why don't you mention the name of Shrimati Sonia Gandhi?

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: What I should mention is my concern. It is not your concern.

Sir, as I said, we adopted the policy of non- alignment. It is not just a policy of non-alignmet. It is a policy of survival of the country. In our country, we have the Hindu religion, the Muslim religion, the Sikh religion, the Christian religion and other religions. How can people belonging to one religion tell people belonging to another religion that this is not their land? Whoever is born in this land is a citizen of the country, the

[Vithalrao Madhavrao Jhadav]

land belongs to him. There is no question of religion. I would ask my B.J.P. friends: When Ram was born, was there Hindi religion? Was there Muslim religion? There was no religion at all. You cannot confine God within the limits of any religion. God is God. God has no birth. God has no death. Can anybody say that Ram was born at this place or at that place?

Sir, I have seen Ayodhya four times. I am a greater Ram *bhakat* than my B.J.P. friends. I have seen the Babri Masjid. Five years ago, when I went there, at the entrance of the Babri Masjid, they had put up a picture of Ram and they said that this was the Ram Janma Bhoomi. Again, after one year I went to Ayodhya. I saw that the picture was shifted twenty feet away from the entrance of the Babri Masjid. The last time when I went here. I saw that half of the Babri Masjid had been demolished and they had put the *murti* of Ram inside the Babri Masjid They said that this was the Ram Janma Bhoomi. I do not know. Dashrath Mahal is different. It is situated one kilometre away from the Babri Masjid.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA (Bihar): Do you mean to say that Ram is a landgrabber?

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: You can say. I don't say that because Ram is my God.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: You are saying that.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: I am not saying that I am only pointing out what the B.J.P. and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad did. As I said, the Dashrath Mahal is situated one kilometre away. Similarly, the Kaushalya Mahal is situated one kilometre away. Then, how can one say that Ram was born at that particular place? I do not understand. God is never born. God never dies. Just to gain some political advantage, if somebody says that Ram was born at a particular place, it is totally wrong, totally false. We are all Indians. (*Interruptions*) God is here. God is there. God is everywhere. Mahatma Gandhi said 'If I have another birth, I would ask God to give me birth in the form of bread so

2.00 P.M. that I can satisfy the hunger of the poor in the country.'

That is the main sentiment of 'Godness' of a person. Sir, from that point of view I would like to request all the parties not to communalize politics. Religion is a private matter and it should be met privately.

Sir, in the President's Address it has been said that they are going to bring a Bill about the *status quo* position of all the religious places which were there on 15th August 1947. That is a most welcome step which has been mentioned in the President's Address.

Sir, I have gone through the President's Address in a detailed way and I have seen that not much has been metioned about our armed forces. They have given very little about the armed forces. They congratulated our armed forces that they have done a very good job. But we find threats from neighbouring countries like Pakistan and some other countries, which are not friendly towards us, and they are encouraging insurgents, militants and terrorists ilize our country. So we should not totally disregard the factor that our defence should be made more and more strong.

You would have seen, recently, Sir, how there was an aggression on Iraq. There might be some differences—I understand it—but they have made the aggression in such a way that they totally destroyed. Iraq. The western countries are so powerful. Our honourable leader, the late Rajiv Gandhi, was the first leader in the world who went to Iraq and other middle-eastern countries for bringing about peace there. Now the question here is, people who speak the language of democracy, those

who claim themselves to be the largest democracy in the world, commit naked aggression on other countries. Then they have no business to say that they are democratic countries. The questions can be solved by discussion, by consultation. So I say that India has got a very important role to play for the establishment of peace in the world and not only in the underdeveloped countries. Once India had given the message of non-violence. The founding fathers of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, were respected by the whole world. Even before that, I would like to state in this House, the idea of democracy itself came from Chhatrapati Shivaii Maharaj. He said, "Swrajyachi sthapana", that is, the raj of ours, the raj of our people. And the cabinet. *Ashtha* Pradhan Mandal, also was formed by Shivaji Maharaj. That message had gone to Europe and they formed their democracies there. Even though Shivaji Maharaj's name sells in Maharashtra, the BJP and the Shiv Sena are misusing his name. They say, Shivaji was the rakshak of the Hindus. Shivaji was the rakshak of manvata. Neither was he Hindu nor was he Mussalman. They might not be knowing that his bodyguard, the main general, Mahabbat Khan, was a Muslim. Shivaji Maharaj said that one religion cannot do injustice to another religion. That was the main theme of his philosophy. So, this is a very old message from our country. This is the message of our old religion: *sarvadharma samabhava* or secularism. That is what our religion had offered. So, please don't misinterpret the meaning of religion.

Sir, in paragraph 12 of the President's Address it has been stated that "Government is committed to the macro-economic stabilisation and structural reforms which will unless the nations latent energy to bring about accelerated development." That is what required. The President has taken note of the economic situation that is there. Today it is not a question of how a multi-millionaire can become a billionaire but the qeustion is how the unemployed and uneducated youth of the rural areas can get relief by getting employment, the question is how there will be decentralization of economic power from a few hands to all over the country, and that should be our main thrust. So, from that point of view I request the Government that they must present the budget in such a way that they can give relief to all the people of this country. Sir, another thing is that a lot of heated exchanges are going on on the balance of payments issue. Our exports have become less, and imports have grown up. So, I would like to request the Government to reduce their own expenditure. How much are they spending, and what are the items to be imported? Why should the items which can be produced in our country itself be imported? So, care should be taken in this regard.

Sir, two days ago I have made a special mention. Per annum we are importing petroleum products worth Rs. 12,000 crores to Rs. 13,000 crores. We can get petrol from them or manufacture fertilizers from them. We should think about an alternate source of energy for our automobile industry. I have made the special mention that alcohol can be extracted from the molasses. It can be converted into automotive alcohol or automotive petrol. That can be very well used. Brazil is one country which runs its automobile industry with alcohol; 80 per cent of the fuel is alcohol. I have said that Maharashtra is having a hundred co-operative sugar factories. If the molasses can be utilised for automotive alcohol and the automobile industry can be converted suitably, our problem can be solved, and we can very well meet our deficit of Rs. 12,000 crores which we spend every year for the import of petroleum products.

Sir, another thing is that, when we look at the industrial growth in 1990-

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav]

91, it is 8.4 per cent compared to an average growth rate of 8.5 per cent during the Seventh Five-Year Plan. A new industrial policy has to be chalked out. A new industrial policy is coming. *(Time bell)*

I will not take more than four minutes.

Sir, I would like to request our Government, through you, that the industrial policy should be chalked out in such a way that there should be decentralisation of industries. I agree with people from Bihar. I had no opportunity to be there for one month during the time of elections. Sir, even in the city of Patna I did not find any industries. If you go to Maharashtra and Gujarat, you will find industrial centres at taluka places, panchayat levels and at district places. Unless we shift or over burdened population from agriculture to industry this huge manpower which has become a burden on agriculture, we cannot solve the economic problems of this country. The Government must plan in such a way that there should be decentralisation of industries.

Our main industry is agriculture. In fact our 70 to 80 per cent production is from agriculture. The industrial production is also artificial. Take the textile industry. Actually the raw material for the textile industry comes from agriculture. Take the food processing industry. The raw material for the food processing also comes from agriculture. They have included these items in industry. Their income is actually an income from agriculture. That is product of agriculture. As we are increasing the agricultural production, our national GDP is also increasing. So, I would request the Government through this House that we must form the industrial policy in such a way that the people living in villages the lower strata of the society must get benefit out of our industrial policy.

There are hundreds and thousands of unemployed engineers who are coming for employment. Instead of that, if you can classify the engineers into different industrial sectors, allow them to start industries, make them finance very easily available and give them all the facilities of land, water, electricity, all these things, why can't we increase the industries? The Maharashtra State alone produces every year 18,000 engineering graduates. If you allow them, they will set up at least 5,000 industries in the Maharashtra State, every year.

Likewise our main thrust should be this. Our educational policies should be totally changed. Today our educated boys are neither getting industrial training nor are they getting agricultural training. Seventy per cent of our population is dependent on agriculture. What percentage does agriculture constitute in our educational system? Unless one goes to an agricultural college, unless one goes to an agricultural school, one does not learn anything about scientific agriculture and agriculture technics. Our main worry is that all this is happening due to lack of an educational policy. Our educational policy is based upon what the Britishers were having during their time. So, it should be changed totally. From the very childhood the boy should be made independent to stand on his own feet. We should be able to go to the market freely and must own his own industrial unit or agricultural unit or forestry and so on.

I once again congratulate our Indian agriculturists and farmers who could produce 177.2 million tonnes of foodgrains this year and they are having a very ambitious plan for the next years foodgrains production. They are the people who have made India self-reliant.

Before concluding I would like to make only one point about Maharashtra. The present gas production from the western off-shore region is 40 million cubic meter per day. It is expected to increase to 65.3 million

cubic meter per day by 1994. The Maharashtra Government has been demanding that it requires gas for its industrial purposes. These sponge iron units at Raigarh district require 2.05 1MCMPD, MACR 4.05 MCMPD, Tata Electric 1.05 MCMPD, Bombay City Distribution 1.05 MCFPD and the proposted power plant require 16MCMPD and other industries require 4 MCMPD. The total amount of gas by 1994 demanded by the Maharashtra Government is 30MCMPD. While the State could produce 71.5 million cubic feet of gas per day, why should it not get 31 MCMPD. I request through you that the Government must consider the demand of the Maharashtra Government and allot it the amount of gas demanded. It is a well-known fact that whatever has been given to Maharashtra, it has made best use of it and its people have become prosperous. Today also the per capita income of this State is the highest. Even politically Maharashtra is ahead of others. I am very proud to say that our present Defence Minister, who was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra State, has ensured that the Maharashtra State does no get a setback. Maharashtra is the only State where the Congress did not have setback. While we have got more seats in the Lok Sabha compared to any other State whether it is the Congress-ruled State or the Opposition parties ruled State. Even the BJP got the set back; even the Janata Dal got the set back, state ruled by them but Maharashtra has got the success and the total credit of it goes to Mr. Sharad Pawar and to his dynamic leadership. Definitely our esteemed leader was late Rajiv Gandhi who was sacrificed his life for the cause of national unity. I say long live memories of Rajiv Gandhi; I say long live memories of Indira Gandhi. I say long live India and democracy of India. It must be very very strong and it must give new light of thought to the world. With these words I conclude.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): I am speaking in a virtually empty House. I have another speaker of my party to speak. That is why I should speak only for 30 minutes and would request you to intervene when my time is over.

There are so many issues to be discussed, but because of shortage of time, I will continue myself to the vital issue which requires the attention of the entire country, not only the ruling party to the Opposition parties.

In which circumstances did the President give his Address? The House was constituted after a midterm election. Then immediately before the election is over there was the brutal assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. A Government having a minority is now constituted. Because the people do not want fresh elections, we restrained ourselves to go to that extent by which the Government can be toppled. Before the House started some serious developments had taken place. There has been a devaluation of the rupee. The Government have taken a decision secretly without consulting either the Opposition parties or the people. Within a gap of two days, the devaluations were 6.89 per cent and 11 per cent. That means almost near about 20 per cent devaluation took place. This has taken place on the 1st July and the 3rd July. The people of this country were surprised over the speed of these developments. On the 4th July, the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Chidambaram declared a new trade policy bypassing the Parliament, bypassing the Opposition parties and not taking the entire people into confidence. This has been done. The Prime Minister made a declaration through radio and T.V. that after serious thought they have come to this decision. The issue has been placed in such a way that the Government had no other alternative but to go in for devaluation because the Government is faced with an unprecedented crisis. My point is that this crisis through which we are now

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

passing, the Government and the other Opposition parties including the ruling party have no comprehension of the magnitude and the gravity of the crisis.

In the Congress manifesto, they have mentioned on page 18, I quote:

> "The nation is in peril. Its unity is in danger. Its integrity is threatened. Social harmony has been shattered. Indians are being turned against Indians. The coffers are empty. Prices are soaring. Planning is in shambles. Economic development has been totally disrupted. The common man is being crushed under the burden. The worst sufferers are the poorest and the most deprived."

We agree with the gravity and magnitude of the crisis mentioned here but they are not reflected in the performance of the Congress party which is in power.

You see the manifesto of the BJP. They said "The country stands today on a major crossroads of history. A right turn would take the country well on its way to fulfilment. A wrong turn would turn the country into serious troubles."

What we told before elections through our election menifesto? We tried to highlight the total picture of the crisis. But we have not yet been able to make the people conscious about the totality of the crisis. In our election manifesto which was printed in April last, we have stated that these elections had come at a time when our country and the people are facing a deep all-round crisis. This aspect I want to highlight. What is the all-round crisis? The description given by the Congress election manifesto gives totality of the all-round crisis. Why this stage has come? Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been killed by her own security force. Why she has been killed? She was killed because of Operation Blue star. The person who killed was mentally indoctrinated. Then Rajiv Gandhi was murdered. So many murders are taking place every day. You know from newspapers the situation in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. Attacks on innocent people are on the increase. Now kidnapping has also started. Kidnapping of officers, managers, owners of factories and tea gardens, etc. has assumed alarming proportions. There are hit-lists covering various other personalities who are targets to be killed. A news item appeared yesterday that in Madras, an attempt was made, when the National Integration Council meeting was going on there, to blow up the building. Rajiv was there. Jyoti Basu was there. I was also there in that meeting on 22nd September in Madras. E.M.S. Namboodripad was there. Surjit was there. Chandra Shekhar was there. Biju Patnaike was there. Had that attempt succeeded what would have happened? This is the totality of the crisis.

Because the time at my disposal is not much, I do not go into great details of these things. I would like to draws the attention of the ruling party as well as that of the whole country to the stage which we have reached now. I am speaking in an empty House. Mr. Fotedar, you need not worry. This is our fate. I know. As I said on the occasion of our obituary reference to Rajiv, the assassination of Rajiv should not be considered as an isolated act. The totality of the situation is so grim. Unless total effort is organised and engaged to change the whole situation, there is no remedy for this. But what is the explanation of the Congress? In its manifesto, the Congress has held the Janata Party Government 1977 and the two non-Congress Governments encompassing a period of 18 months mainly responsible for this situation. At page 4 of the Congress Election Manifesto, it is stated:

> "For the last 44 years, the Congress has patiently built the

country. For the four of the last 44 years, the non-Congress Governments have systematically weakened the country."

If this is your understanding, you will never be in a position to save this country from this crisis. Our main accusation is, that it is the Congress Government which is mainly responsible for creating this situation. We have mentioned this in our election manifesto. I can explain it giving all the data and facts. But because the time at my disposal is very short, I am brief. Who is responsible for the threat posed to the unity and integrity of the country today? The anti-colonial freedom struggle and the sacrifices of martyrs have been threatened to be rendered meaningless by communal and separatist movements. Communalism is growing. Who is responsible for encouraging this communalism? I am not calling the Congress a communal party. But they are giving full encouragement to communalism because of their opportunistic compromises with communal organisations and forces. The Congress enjoyed a virtual monopoly of power in the post-Independence decades. The path for development and the policies pursued by it have brought the country to such a sorry pass. This is the path which you have pursued since independence and that is mainly responsible for all this. Later I come to the recent economic measures adopted by you. Now see the results of your 40 years rule. In 1947, Tatas' assets were only Rs. 20 crores 78 lakhs. During the Congress regime in 1972, it increased to Rs. 641.93 crores. In 1947, Birlas' assets were worth Rs. 21.85 crores. In 1972, it became Rs. 529.42 crores. Then I come to 1988-89. Tatas' assets were worth Rs. 6,691.38 crores and Birlas' assets were worth Rs. 6.974.6 crores, During 1981, the assets of the top ten big business houses were worth Rs. 6,541.28 crores. In 1987, it increased to Rs. 18,637.28 crores. In 1988, it increased to Rs. 26308.77 crores.

Now see the question of unemployment. In the live registers in employment exchanges, every year, the number of unemployed people is increasing. Now it has reached 3½ crores. Then about the sickness of industries. In 1981-82, the number of sick factories was 22,000. Now it has reached over 2 lakhs. 2 lakhs factories including closed, are sick and laid off. So the unemployment is increasing.

Then I come to price rise. It has a continuous growth since independence. You are laying blame simply on the Janata Government, V. P. Singh Government and now Chandra Shekhar Government. For Chandra Shekhar Government, you are responsible. You should owe the responsibility for their failure.

Then about the fall in rupee value in your period. In 1981-82, in terms of dollar, one dollar was equivalent to Rs. 8.90; in 1983, Rs. 10.3; in 1984, Rs. 10.71; in 1985, Rs. 12.25; in 1986, Rs. 12.39; in 1987, Rs. 12.87; in 1988, Rs. 12.95; in 1989, Rs. 15.61; in 1990, Rs. 17.51. The non-Congress Governments followed the same economic path which you have been pursuing for the last forty years but you blame this four years' non-Congress rule for creating present situation. If this is your understanding, you can never bring this country out of this peril, out of this crisis. That is why, alternative policy is the only saviour of this country. But, we saw this crisis has been presented in such a way—as unprecedented economic crisis—that the Government has no other alternative but to go to the IMF. In our election manifesto, regarding the economic crisis, we used the same language which Rashtrapati Ji has used in his speech. "The country is facing an unprecedented economic crisis." This very language has been used by Rashtrapatiji in paragraph

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

No. 11. The Government recognises that the country is in the midst of an economic crisis of an unprecedented magnitude. What is the solution? The solution has been indicated here: "Immediately we have to rush to IMF." We have no objection for getting loan by a Government when they are faced with a crisis. But to go to IMF which has imposed serious conditionalities, we cannot accept it. What is the role of IMF? What is the character of IMF loan? I am reading one quotation and then I will say who the author of this quotation is:

> "The developed countries were able to use the international financial institutions to impose their view, on third-world countries and at the same time to demand that the latter should adjust their economies through contractionary policies. The policies prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF were thus inevitably unbalanced. This was a form of neo-colonialism. The world's economic metropolises were forcing on the South the whole burden of adjustment to an impaired world economy while continuing to grow themselves. What is more, the debt crisis was used by the North as an opportunity to influence their domestic choices and to impose on them externally determined values, polices, concessions and patterns of development. The social and political costs of inappropriate measures were then paid by the victim countries and their people, and their resulting instability was used by the North as a further opportunity for external intervention Indeed, given these trends it may not be an exaggeration to suggest that the establishment of a system of international economic relations in which South's second-class status is institutionalised is an imminent danger."

This is the report of the present Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, submitted one year before. I support this statement. I support the statement of Dr. Manmohan Singh read here, but oppose his present conomic policies and measures. Why? Now it is world experience regarding the role of the IMF, the role of the IMF, the role of the World Bank, the role of American imperialism. Really American imperialism is the boss of the IMF and the World Bank.

Now what are the conditionalities? Devaluation. But you are explaining: "We are not subject to pressure. Voluntarily we are doing." This is a much worse thing because you know the conditionalities and in order to get their favour you have submitted long before to their conditionalities when the IMF loan was taken in 1981. There was also a secret deal and a secret understanding at that time. We totally opposed that, but at that time this present Rashtrapatiji was the Finance Minister and he did not admit that there was any secret deal. Fortunately we got a secret copy of this IMF memorandum and we got it printed in large numbers and distributed it among the M.Ps. at that time, written "confidential". The conditions are quite clear. They want to subordinate our entire economy and their conditions are liberalisation, full liberalisation. Not only liberalisation of imports but decontrol, deregularisation, complete freedom of earning profits here in our country. Then free technology exports to our country. They want that public sector should be completely privatised and they want that an atmosphere should be created for favourable investment. "An atmosphere of investment" means what? You should give a guarantee to earning profits to them.

If the employees and workers, when prices are rising, raise demands for wage increase, for bonus, then this favourable condition is disturbed. They will say you are violating the conditions, then to satisfy their requirement you will have to suppress the working class movement. Within the frame-work of democracy you cannot satisfy these multi-national corporations and monopolies. So the danger of authoritarianism, attack on democracy and attack on trade union movement is very imminent. Then there is the question of wage freeze when the prices are rising very high. It has started from the very day of independence and day by day it is rising—during your period and subsequent period. Another condition imposed is the complete reduction of subsidy which means that essential commodities such as foodgrains will have to be purchased at a higher price. So the cost of living of the common man, the poor man, is bound to rise. It will have its inflationary effect. This means the more and more you are trying to earn the confidence of the multi-national corporations, IMF, the more and more you are isolating the masses from you. The more you go towards them for earning their favour, the more you are forcing the working class and the toiling masses to stand against you. That is why we have suggested the alternative approach which has been rejected. Our West Bengal Chief Minister has sent a letter to the Finance Minister suggesting alternative approach and thereby he tried to help the Government to come out of this situation, but that was not accepted because already you are committed. Indeed, in today's paper I saw you have got the green signal from the IMF Managing Director telling that you will be given the short-term loan of 220 million dollars and that will be discussed on 22nd July. For guiding the Budget provisions twenty-two officers of IMF are here and they are guiding. How can you claim that our economy is independent? How you are defending it? You have abandoned the path of self-reliance and now you are handing over the public sector to the private owners. But, why will they purchase the losing concerns? They have already demanded one profit-making concern. The ONGC they have already demanded. Now the condition is that as Shri Gurudas Das Gupta read out yesterday in the House from the World Bank report that the SBI and some-nationalised banks-should also be privatised. Where are you leading the country to? Now, what situation will arise? The working class, the employees and the toiling section of the masses have no other alternative but to stand against your policy. That is why we have suggested the alternative which I am mentioning here. This was suggested long before but again by the West Bengal Chief Minister. He has asked to give consideration to this alternative so that we are not forced to go the World Bank and the IMF, but you have rejected. The IMF—dictated path is not inevitable as the ruling class claimed. There is an alternative path, Resources have to be raised by other means. Steps must be taken to collect the huge tax arrears. Curb black-money and strictly check tax evasion. There has to be direct curb on imports to save foreign exchange.

Wasteful expenditure by the Government must be stopped. Fuel conservation measures, implementing austerity, should not mean further tightening of the belts of the emaciated poor but making the affluent pay more by raising the direct taxes. Alternative sources of resource mobilisation must be explored including deposits by Indians working abroad. Among the long-term measures which are essential are the implementation of land reforms and decentralisation of power to involve the people in developmental activities in a big way. Land reforms are essential to expand the internal market minus which it is impossible for the economy to grow independently.

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

Now the policy you have adopted is to develop high technology with cheap labour, combination of high technology with cheap labour. In a capitalist system always science and technology is being used for increasing the profit of the capitalists at the cost of the workers and employees. So introduction of high technology means whoever the employees and workers who are now working in the factories having old machines, they will be displaced and the already, vast number of unemployed will rapidly grow further. yesterday, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee told me, already notices had been served on various offices saying "all your offices are going to be closed". Our Union leaders of Haldia Fertilizer Factory yesterday published a report meeting the press saying that 1400 of their employees had been served notices to the effect that the fertilizer factory was going to be closed. Why? Because you are to reduce the subsidy on fertilizers, you are to reduce the subsidy on essential commodities. Now, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee has announced that because of deregulation, because of decontrol, the offices which were set up for controlling the institutions are being closed down. Now, what is the wayout before the employees? Lakhs and lakhs of workers will be thrown out of jobs. Now, you are giving full authority to the big houses, the big monopoly houses, to close their factories without getting any clearance from the Government. This freedom they have wanted and you are giving this freedom. (*Time-bell*).

So, in totality what is the reality? I come to the reality now. What will be the situation? You have declared a policy that everything should be privatised. You know all the trade unions including the Indian National Trade Union Congress demanded that the textile industry should be nationalised. In 1989 there was a big rally of the textile workers, of several time, eight of them and myself met thousands, before Rajiv's house. They all requested me to fix an appointment with Rajiv Gandhi. I talked to Rajiv Gandhi. I talked to his secretary. Rajiv earlier agreed but later on his secretary telephoned me and said that he was very much engaged. "you please take your deputation to the Textile Minister, Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha." After two hours I got a telephone from Ram Niwas Mirdha. He said, "Samarbabu, what is the good of meeting? Your demand is nationalisation. Our policy is privatisation. Where is the meeting ground? So why do you burden me?" I said, "As several thousand people have come from far off places, at least you receive the delegation and I will also be in the delegation." He received the delegation. He pleaded "I am helpless because the Government's policy is privatisation, the union's demand, including the INTUC, is nationalisation." What is the way out? You have taken a very clear line. You have made sweeping reforms. You have introduced restructuring of the conomy and have said "no" to nationalisation. No sick industries are to be helped in any way. All the sick industries are to be closed. If you close all the sick industries they are about two lakhs and about 1-2 crores of workers will be thrown out of their jobs. Where is the solution? I read in today's papers, our new Labour Minister, Mr. K. Ramamurthy, who is himself a labour leader, and who knows the labour problems, has raised the question that devaluation and decontrol will create serious disturbances in the labour relations. Then what is the way out? There is no way out, because we have towed that line, the line of the World Bank and the line of the IMF completely accepting the conditionalities. That means we have already entered the debt trap. I had read Mr. Manmohan Singh's statement last year. He himself had admitted that their policy is neo-colonialism and now he himself has

become an instrument for pursuing this policy. Now for you there is no retreat. You have reached the dead end. See the way your policy is being glorified. I heard the Prime Minister saying that it is 99 not-out". Today he is getting a century because the World Bank, the Managing Director of the World Bank, has given a clearence. So, he has got a century. But if after getting a century the team gets defeated ultimately what happens? A century may be a glory for the Prime Minister, but century for whom? It may be a century for the vested interests, for big business and for multinationals. You have invited the NRIs. But, I read in the papers that they have laid some conditions. What are these conditions? The condition is that they should be included in the formation of the policy of the Government. That means they should be made a part of the Government. They have said that they wanted sufficient incentives to be guaranteed. Our Prime Minister has told the *New York Times* that he is inviting the American multinationals to invest in India as much as possible and that the sky is the limit. At the same time he said that India is not to be considered as pro Soviet Union. That is a very dangerous trend, because these trends will affect the foreign policy of the country. This is a tilt towards imperialism, a deviation from non-alignment and it is a very dangerous trend. Hence we cannot accept your position. It is a very serious stand that you have taken. What is the alternative before us? We tried to help you. Our Chief Minister, Shri Jyoti Basu, sent a proposal to Mr. Manmohan Singh their personal relations are very close and good but the situation is heading towards a very serious consequence. I can give you an example. On the 4th of June when in the Rajya Sabha discussions were going on. I got the information that at Dhallas near Varanasi there had been some firing on the workers at Sone Bhadra near Varanasi. Nearly about 40 workers had been killed. Why? Because, the UP Government of Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav sold a public sector of course that was a State Public Sector, —cement factory, to the Dalmias. The workers opposed this deal and they were sitting in dharna peacefully, But, before the elections, because Mr. Dalmia might have paid the Chief Minister and his party a big amount for their election fund, he wanted to get possession of this factory since he was doubtful about election results during the Mulayam Singh Government.

SHRI ISH DUTT YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am on a point of order.

माननीय सदस्य जो कह रहे हैं, ये सही फैक्टस नहीं हैं मुलायम सिंह इस हाउस के मेंबर नहीं हैं...

श्री समर मुखर्जी: ठीक है, आइ विदड्रां। तत्कालीन मुख्य मंत्री यू०पी० का, वह बिक्री कर दिया ।

He sold three units of the public sector to Mr. Dalmia. The issue was raised in this House on the 4th of June by Mr. Dipen Ghosh and Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta. At that time Mr. Chandra Shekhar was sitting here, Before they raised this issue, I met him and I gave him a personal letter, asking him immediately to intervene because so many workers had been killed. They were sitting in dharna peacefully and the Government there helped Mr. Dalmia with the administration and the police to kill the workers. This is the situation. Ultimately, Mr. Chandra Shekhar had to make a statement. But, two or three days ago I got a telegram and a telephone call from the workers saking that a reign of repression was going on there. I had already written to the Prime Minister and also written to the Chief Minister of U P. We also observed an all-India protest day on the 2nd of July against this firing and against this deal for privatization. There was also a dharna before the Prime Minister's

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

house here in Delhi. A day before this dharna, I contacted the Prime Minister and told him that there would be dharna in protest against the killing of innocent workers who protested against the selling of the public sector unit to private people. I also told him that a deputation would meet him and that I would accompany the delegation. He readily accepted it and said, "When you are coming, there is no difficulty. I will meet the delgation." We met him, eight of them and myself met the Prime Minister on the 2nd of July. We gave a memorandum. He told me, "You can realise that there is a State Government there. What can we do? However, I will see; I will enquire." Now, we have to develop an all-India movement. When they telephoned me, I told them, "You cannot get any remedy because the Central Government's policy is the same: privatization. That is why they will give full help to the BJP Government's policy in U. P. for the suppression of you all. That is why you have to wait till we develop an all-India movement. Unless we develop this into an all-India movement against this policy, there is no remedy.

Now, my point is that your policy and the policy of the BJP, I mean, the economic policies, are the same. The BJP is for full liberalistation. Now you have adopted the guidance of the BJP because you have decided to write off FERA and to liberalise the MRTP by raising the ceiling up to a thousand crores of rupees and this is recommended by the BJP in their manifesto. They want the MRTP to be applied to those business houses whose assets exceed a thousand crores of rupees. You have adopted this and Mr. L.K. Advani, in his speech opposing the confidence vote, supported your economic measures and that is why a common base is being created and Mr. Vajpayee has already raised the slogan of coalition Government. America and the World Bank want the stability of your Government because of your policy and it is because of your policy that they are giving you money and help. So, stability can be achieved only if the BJP and the Congress (I) can join together.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMATNTHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Still they are in the Opposition.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Yes, because the logic of economy will force you to go to them. The logic of Speaker's election led you to join hands with them, for understanding. Now, the other day Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan accused the Janata Dal, V. P. Singh, for allowing Advani for Rath Yatra. She accused that V. P. Singh is giving concession to BJP because the Congress wanted the Advani should be arrested. We wanted also that Advani should be arrested. Once you took the step, then the BJP came out with a threat that if the Rath Yatra is stopped, if Advani is arrested, they would withdraw support to the V. P. Singh Government. Then the question comes to V. P. Singh whether he wants to remain in power or he stands for secularism. He took a bold step. Advani was arrested, knowing fully well that the support is being withdrawn by the BJP When V. P. Singh acted on the advice of Rajiv Gandhi that Advani should be arrested, after arrest what happened? When the confidence motion came up, it was Congress (I) and the BJP which joined together to topple the V. P. Singh Government. Who is the defender of secularism? Congress (I) or V. P. Singh? Who is upholding the value of secularism? Who gave the permission for Shila Niwas in Ayudhia? You are accusing. So be self-critical. Try to learn. I have no time. I have taken much time. But you have left no other choice open to us that to go to the masses We firmly belive that by the line you are pursuing you are creating such a serious situation where the country is bound to be

totally disintegrated. Suppose American money is invested, NRIs come and their manager is kidnapped, if the American technologists are kidnapped as hostages, will the money remain here or will it outflow? If you do not create social conditons, normal political conditions, By increasing unemployment, by helping raise the prices, inflation, you are creating further unemployment, increasing further poverty, And the discontented youth will become the victims of extremist politics they will join the Nexalites and other disruptive forces or become anti-socials. That is the outcome of the policy you have been pursuing since Independence. That is why we totally opposed your policies. Now a stage has come when a total reversal is necessary. For that a new approach, a new policy, is absolutely essential. But helping the monopolists to grow and talking of providing employment -- these are two contradictory things. The international market is shrinking. Our economy is totally based on exports, and because of devaluation our total debt has increased. Now the total debt, I saw in the "India Today" amounts to Rs. 1 lakh and eighty-three thousand crores of rupees. It will further increase, because the price for imports is increasing Then you have increased the railway fares and freight. You are increasing coal prices. The administered prices will further have an effect on the price situation. So the overall situation will be very serious. This will create further discontent and the secessionistt forces will take full advantage of it. And America is interested in destabilisation. They want more sabotage work and disruption of the country. You must take appropriate steps from 3.00 P.M now on: otherwise your policy will lead to complete instability and chaos No Government can become stable simply by acquiring majority through elections. I talked to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on the same issue when he came back from China. I told him: 'What did you see in China?' He told me: 'I went to the villages and I saw healthy peasants: their health condition is much better. Though housing is not so improved but their dresses are much better, and it appears that they are now getting sufficient food and their income has increased.' I told him that if this was the situation that had been created, then their Government will be a stable Government. If you are not able to satisfy the basic needs of the masses, your Government cannot be stable. He agreed with me and said that what I was saying was quite correct, but at the same time when he agreed with me theoretically, the practice had not changed So. I feel, the policy you are following will lead to devastation.

With these words, I oppose the Motion.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagen Saikia) in the Chair].

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Surendra Singh Thakur. But before you start, I want to inform the Congress-I Members that there is a list of 22 speakers and the time allotted is only 100 minutes. So, please confine yourself to the time limit.

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर : (मध्य प्रदेश) आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो 11 जुलाई, 1991 को दोनों सदनों के समक्ष जो अभिभाषण किया है' मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात तर्क-वितर्क और आपसी बहस की नहीं है। हम और हमारे सामने वाले भाई सभी इस बात को भलीभांति जानते हैं कि आज देश एक बड़े संकट से गुजर रहा है। इसलिये हम सब को बहुत संजीदगी के साथ इस देश को इस संकट से निकालने का प्रयास करना चाहिये। दादा समर मुखर्जी के प्रति मैं अपना सम्मान व्यक्त करते हुए उनसे एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। उन्होंने कहा कि चार साल को छोड़कर पिछले 40 सालों में जो सत्ता का उपभोग है

[श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर]

वह कांग्रेस ने किया है। मैं उनसे विनम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि कांग्रेस ने कभी इस राज-कार्य को सत्ता-भोग के रूप में नहीं देखा है। कांग्रेस ने अपने जन्म से लेकर आज तक अपने सिपाहियों के खून की नदियां बहाई हैं, इस देश को गुलामी के खिलाफ लड़ाई की है और देश की आजादी के लिये संघर्ष किया है। आजादी के बाद भी महात्मा गांधी जी, स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और हमारे आदरणीय नेता राजीव गांधी जी ने भी अपना खून बहाकर इस देश की एकता और अखंडता को मजबूत किया है और इस देश के विकास तथा उसकी उन्नति को आगे बढ़ाया है। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन चार सालों के अतिरिक्त जब कांग्रेस की सरकार नहीं थी, बाकी विगत इन 40 सालों में भारत के विपक्ष द्वारा कांग्रेस का क्रिटिसिज्म कुछ कंस्ट्रक्टिव रूप में किया होता, कुछ रचनात्मक दिशा उसकी होती, कुछ आदर्शों की बात होती तो अच्छा होता। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि जब जब विपक्ष की सरकार आई, इन्होंने दोनों वक्त में देश को हर प्रकार से हर क्षेत्र में कमजोर करके कांग्रेस के हाथ में सौंपा क्योंकि जितनी भी पार्टियां इकट्ठी होती हैं गैर-कांग्रेसवाद के नाम पर, वे पार्टियां सही मायनों में इस देश के अंदर विकास के लिये समर्पित नहीं होतीं। वह समर्पित रहते हैं अपने स्वार्थ के प्रति और उस समर्पण के माध्यम से सत्ता प्राप्ति के प्रति। उनके दिलों में जज्बा नहीं होता है इस देश के गरीबों के लिए, इस देश की बिगड़ती हुई आर्थिक स्थिति के लिए। इस देश की जो साम्प्रदायिक सदभाव की स्थिति बिगड़ रही है उसके लिए उनकी भावना नहीं होती है, उनकी सोच नहीं होती है जो देश की प्रतिष्ठा विदेशों में गिरी है उसके लिए। कोई भाषा की बात करता है, कोई क्षेत्र की बात करता है, कोई मन्दिर-मस्जिद की बात करता है। इन में से कोई भी इतना बहादुर नहीं है, किसी भी पार्टी ने इतनी हिम्मत नहीं दिखलाई कि वह आ कर सामने खड़े हो कर कह दे कि हम इस देश की एकता और अखंडता तथा साम्प्रदायिक सदभाव के लिए खड़े हुए हैं। अगर वह ऐसा कहते तो बहुत अच्छा होता। समर दादा की पार्टी ने अगर अपना समर्थन वी.पी. सिंह की सरकार से विदड्रा कर लिया होता तो बहुत अच्छा होता। इससे उनको अधिक वोट भी मिले होते। किन्तु इस देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि इस जैसे अच्छे लोग जिनके ऊपर कम से कम साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा देने का हल्का आरोप नहीं लगा सकते हैं उन लोगों ने भी उस समय वी.पी. सिंह जैसे पदलौलुप, स्वार्थी सत्तालौलुप व्यक्ति से हाथ अलग नहीं किया। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है। कांग्रेस पार्टी हमेशा पूरे भारत को एक देखती है, सभी धर्मों के मानने वालों को एक समान दृष्टि से देखती है। भारत को अखण्ड, मजबूत और समृद्ध देखने की लालसा रखती है। यही कांग्रेस की नीति है, यही सिद्धांत है और यही हमारा उद्देश्य भी है। आज जिस हालत में देश है, अगर हम पंजाब की बात करें तो मैं आरोप नहीं लगाना चाहता हूं, न ही आंकड़ों के माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आपने कुछ नहीं किया। लेकिन जो वस्तुस्थिति है, जो सच्चाई है उसको तो उजागर करना ही होगा। आंकड़े कहते हैं कि सन 1989 में जहां 1168 लोग पंजाब में मारे गये थे, वहीं इनके शासन के दौरान 1990 में 2273 लोगों को मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया। आतंकवादी जो 1989 में पकड़े गये उनकी संख्या 2466 थी लेकिन 1990 में यह घट कर 1561 रह गई। आज पंजाब में क्या हो रहा है? जो आतंकवादी मारे जाते हैं उनके नाम पर भोजों का आयोजन किया जाता है। भोज में लाखों की तादाद में लोग ट्रकों, ट्रालियों में जबरदस्ती ला कर इकट्ठे किये जाते हैं और उनको प्रतिष्ठा प्रदान की जाती है। इस तरीके से आतंकवादियों ने पंजाब में हर पंचायत में एक सर्कुलर भेजा हुआ है और पंचायत कमेटी में एक व्यक्ति का नामीनेशन कर एक व्यक्ति को अप्वाइंट कर के वे अपने काम उस पंचायत के माध्यम से करवाना चाहते हैं। उनका काम होता है, उनको सारी सूचनाएं देना, खबरें प्राप्त कराना और

उनके खिलाफ जो सच्चे मायने में राष्ट्र भक्त लोग हैं उनको बराबर उनकी सूचनाएं देना। अभी चुनाव की बात पंजाब में चल रही है तो उनका एक आदेश निकला था। उन्होंने कहा था कि सारे बैलट बाक्सेज खाली आने चाहिए कहीं कोई ...(**मय की घंटी**) अभी तो मैंने शुरू किया है।

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर: यह तो मेरे साथ अन्याय है। मैं बहुत कम इस सदन का समय लेता हूं। आप रिकार्ड देख सकते हैं। आप मुझे समय दीजिए। मैं जरूरी मुद्दों पर बहुत संक्षेप में अपनी बात कहूंगा, यही आपसे प्रार्थना है। आदरणीय महोदय, इसे आप भूमिका मानें लेकिन मेरे हृदय की बात है...

एक माननीय सदस्य: ताईद कर रहा हूं। आपका समर्थन कर रहा हूं।

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर: बहुत धन्यवाद आपका। वैसे मुझे आपका समर्थन नहीं चाहिए। आप वी जे पी को दीजिए। हम माफी चाहते हैं आपसे।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, काश्मीर में क्या हुआ। आज 55 हजार परिवार काश्मीर से बाहर हैं। वे परेशान हैं बेहाल हैं। आसाम में इंजीनियर को मत्यु के घाट उतार दिया गया। कई लोगों को बंधक बनाया गया है। काश्मीर में दूराईस्वामी का आज तक हम लोग अतापता नहीं लगा पाये हैं। इन हालात को पैदा करने वाले कौन लोग हैं? वे जब कांग्रेस को क्रिटिसाइज करें तो इस बात पर विचार करें कि इन हालातों को जो आंकड़ों से साबित हैं, पैदा करने वाले भी आप ही लोग हैं।

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा: वाह क्या तारीफ की बात की है आपने।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश): आप जिस स्टाइल में बोली हैं सदन उसकी तारीफ करता है।

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर: आतंकवादियों ने इतना सिर ऊपर उठा लिया है कि अब उनकी घुसपैठ उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश में भी हो गयी है। मध्य प्रदेश में एक ढबरा तहसील है उसके एक रेलवे स्टेशन पर वे एक घटना कर चुके हैं। हमको इन सब बातों से आगाह होना पड़ेगा। इन सारी बातों के पीछे कौन लोग जिम्मेदार हैं? उनको खुद अपने आपको, अपने गिरेबान को देखना होगा क्योंकि ये सारी बातें कहीं न कहीं से शुरू हुई हैं।

आज देश साम्प्रदायिकता की आग में जल रहा है और लोग उस आग में अपनी राजनैतिक रोटियां सेंकना चाहते हैं। राजनैतिक रोटियां शायद उनको मिल भी गयी हैं। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में भारतीय जनता पार्टी सत्ता में आ गयी। लेकिन माननीय, उसके बाद क्या हुआ? अभी दो साल भी पूरे नहीं हुए हैं और यह उनका निकम्मापन रहा है उनकी अकर्मण्यता रही है जिसके कारण मध्य प्रदेश की महान जनता ने इन पिछले लोक सभा के चुनाव में 40 में से 27 सीटें कांग्रेस को दी एक सीट बी जे पी को दी और सिर्फ 12 सीटों पर उनको संतोष करना पड़ा। उसमें भी 3-4 सीटें बहुत कम वोटों से वे जीते हैं। तो इनको इस बात से सबक लेना चाहिए क्योंकि इन्होंने साम्प्रदायिकता को भड़काकर वोट तो लिये और झांसा भी दिया वहां के लोगों को—किसानों से कहा कि कर्ज माफ करेंगे, बेरोजगारों से कहा कि हम बेरोजगारी भत्ता देंगे, काम के अधिकार को संविधान में शामिल करेंगे, महंगाई की बात को पूरे देश के सामने रखेंगे... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश): अपने डेढ़ साल के शासन में हमने जो किया वह आपने 40 साल में नहीं किया।

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर: लेकिन आपने जो डेढ़ साल में किया महंगाई के मामले में वह हमने 40 साल में भी नहीं किया है। आंकड़े इस बात के गवाह हैं। इस बात को आपको स्वीकार करना

[श्री सरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर]

पड़ेगा । लेकिन सवाल आपका और हमारा नहीं है । निर्णय जनता के हाथ में होता है और निर्णय आपके लिए जनता ने दे दिया है । वह आपके और हमारे सब के सामने है । अब तो हम इंतजार कर रहे हैं कि कब हमारे केन्द्र की सरकार मध्य प्रदेश में भा०ज०पा० की सरकार जिसको जनता ने अमान्य कर दिया है, यहां से आदेश कर भंग करे ताकि वहां जनादेश का आदर करते हुए दोबारा चुनाव कराये जा सकें ।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भोपाल से आता हूं । भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने भोपाल के गैस पीड़ित बाशिंदो के साथ जो क्रर व्यवहार किया है उसकी जितनी निन्दा की जाए वह कम है । मैं आपके माध्यम से सदन को बताना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर बरसते पानी में गरीबो को जो झुग्गी झोपड़ियों में रहते थे अतिक्रमण के नाम पर भोपाल को सुन्दर बनाने के नाम पर बुलडोजरों से रौंद दिया और उनको ले जाकर जंगलों में फेंक दिया । वहां उनको बिच्छू और सांप काट रहे हैं । मैं उनकी जगहों पर होकर आया हूं । सरकार ने उनको कोई सुविधा प्रदान नहीं की है । उनको धोखा दिया, झासा दिया कि यह सुविधा देंगे वह सुविधा देंगे लेकिन आज तक उनको कोई सुविधा प्रदान नहीं की गयी न उनके स्वास्थ्य की कोई परवाह हो रही है न उनकी शिक्षा की कोई परवाह हो रही है । न रोजगार की । वह रोज कमा कर खाने वाले थे । भोपाल के जो गरीब लोग थे, उनको ले जाकर इन्होंने बाहर फेंक दिया और यह सिलसिला, जब से इनकी सरकार बनी है, डेढ़-पौने दो साल से भोपाल और पूरे मध्य प्रदेश में चल रहा है ।

इसी का परिणाम है कि इनको वहां से लोगों ने भगा दिया है । लेकिन इनका यह सिलसिला बंद नहीं हुआ है । अच्छा होता कि गैस-पीड़ितो के साथ में इनका व्यवहार सौहार्दतापूर्ण रहता, लेकिन इन्होंने इसकी चिंता नहीं की ।

मान्यवर, आज जिस बात की सब से ज्यादा चर्चा की जा रही है, वह आर्थिक संकट है । यह आर्थिक संकट की देन भी इन्हीं लोगों की है । जिस प्रकार बजट प्रस्तुत किये गये और बजट को अनुत्पादक क्षेत्र में लगाया गया, उसकी वजह से आज हमको यह हालात देखने को मिल रहे हैं । इसमें बहुत गंभीरता के साथ हमको कड़े कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि हम जानते हैं कि इस देश के ऊपर एक लाख करोड़ का विदेशी कर्ज भी है । जो विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार कांग्रेस के समय, राजीव जी के समय भरा हुआ था, उसको भी इन्होंने खाली कर दिया ।

आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है, मान्यवर, कि हम ऐसे कुछ स्टेप्स लें, जिसके माध्यम से इस संकट का हम भली-भांति हल कर सकें और देश को इस संकट से निकाल सकें ।

आज एक बात का मैं यहां निवेदन करन चाहता हूं और वह रेवेन्यु कलेक्शन का मामला है । हम विदेश से कर्ज लें, स्वीकार है, लेकिन हमारे देश में जो करदाता हैं और जो बड़े-बड़े करदाता हैं, धन्ना सेठ हैं, थोड़ी उनके ऊपर ताकत लगायें, एड़ लगायें कि उन्होंने जो पैसा अपने भंडारों में भर रखा है, वह निकले और देश के काम आए क्योंकि मैं जानता हूं कि जो हमारा रेवेन्यु कलेक्ट होना चाहिए, उसका केवल 60 प्रतिशत ही हम कलेक्ट कर पाते हैं । बाकी यह लोग अपने पास रख लेते हैं । उस पैसे को भी निकालने की आवश्यकता है ।

हमारे घोषणा-पत्र में जो निजीकरण की बात कही गई है, जिसके बारे में समर दादा ने बहुत विस्तार से बात कही है, मैं नहीं समझता कि कांग्रेस जिसके नेता पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू रहे, इन्दिरा जी रहीं और राजीव जी रहे, उस पार्टी ने कभी प्राइवेटाइजेशन का सोचा भी होगा, क्योंकि बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन कांग्रेस ने किया था, कोल फील्डस का नेशनालाइजेशन कांग्रेस ने किया है और पंचायती राज के माध्यम से सत्ता के विकेंद्रीकरण की बात भी हमारे आदरणीय नेता, राजीव गांधी ने की थी ।

ऐसी पार्टी कभी भी प्रांइवेटाइजेशन का नहीं सोच सकती और मैं अपने व्यक्तिगत विचार से ही यहां यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हमको प्राइवेटाइजेशन की तरफ नहीं जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि अगर हम प्राइवेटाइजेशन की तरफ जाते हैं, तो हम यह स्वीकार करते हैं कि हम सब लोग जो यहां बैठे हैं, और जो सरकार चला रहे हैं या जिन्होंने सरकारें चलाई हैं, वह सब लोग अपने काम में सक्षम नहीं हैं । हम सब लोग अक्षम साबित हो जायेंगे, अगर हमने प्राइवेटाइजेशन की ओर कदम बढ़ाया ।

मेरी गुजारिश है कि जो हमारे सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र हैं उनकी सक्षमता को बढ़ाने के लिए प्रयास करना चाहिए, जो अधिकारी वर्ग है वहां पर, उनके ऊपर अंकुश लगाना चाहिए, ताकि हमारे जो उनसे अपेक्षा है अच्छी एफिशेंसी की, उसको हम प्राप्त कर सकें ।

इसके लिए यह तरीका बिलकुल नहीं लाया जाना चाहिए कि हम अगर किसी क्षेत्र में कमजोर पड़ रहे हैं, कहीं हमें घाटा हो रहा है, तो उसको हम प्राइवेट हाथों में दे दें ।

मैं मध्य प्रदेश से आता हूं । वहां पर मैंने देखा है कि कपड़ा मिलें जोकि आज भी वहां प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हैं, वह बंद पड़ी हैं और सरकर का उनके ऊपर उनको पुनः चलाने के लिए कोई दबाव नहीं है । उनके जो इम्पलायीज थे, कर्मचारी थे, वह आज त्रस्त होकर, परेशान होकर घूम रहे हैं । उनके लिए हमारे पास कोई इंतजाम नहीं है, जिससे कि हम उनकी मदद कर सकें ।

मेरा निवेदन होगा कि हमको इस दिशा में बिलकुल विचार भी नहीं करना चाहिए, वरना हमारा यह कदम हमारे नेताओं की भावनाओं के खिलाफ लगेगा ।

मान्यवर, इस देश में सब से बड़ा जो वर्ग है, वह कृषक जगत है । लेकिन जब हम कृषक जगत की बात करते हैं, तो हमारे सामने एक बात बिलकुल साफ आती है और तथ्यों के साथ आती है कि कृषि उद्योग जो है, वह हमेशा घाटे का उद्योग रहा है । मेरे पास एक छोटा सा सर्वे है । यह सन 1971 से 1986 के बीच में हरियाणा, यू०पी० और पंजाब में एक अध्ययन किया गया था जिसके हिसाब से जो उत्पादन लागत थी वह हरियाणा में 153 प्रतिशत थी, यू.पी में 169 प्रतिशत और पंजाब में 130 प्रतिशत थी इसके मुकाबले में जो गेहूं की कीमतें थीं वह हरियाणा मे 111 प्रतिशत जो वृद्धि हुई है उसमें 1971 से 1986 के बीच में कंपेरेटिव स्टडी है और यू.पी. में 84 प्रतिशत और पंजाब में 96 प्रतिशत तो इसमें फर्क देखने से पता चल जाता है कि इस कृषि उद्योग में ब्याज भी नहीं निकल पाता है भाषण यहां सारे लोग देते हैं, लेकिन सही मायने में कोई ठोस कदम आज उस कृषक वर्ग के लिए नहीं उठाए गई । अब हम शायद और यह चर्चा यहां पर चल रही है कि हम सबसिडी खत्म करने जा रहे हैं जो फर्टिलाइज़र के माध्यम से और दूसरे माध्यमों से कृषकों को दी जाती है । ठीक है, आप सब्सिडी मत दीजिए, उसकी वजह से फर्टिलाजर महंगे होंगे और वह किसान खरीद नहीं पाएगा और फर्टिलाइज़र जब खेत में नहीं पहुंचेगा तो उसका खाद्यन्न कम पैदा होगा, देश में खाद्यान्न की कमी आ गी जिसकी वजह से खाद्यान्न महंगा होगा और फिर उसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन होगा ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please try to conclude.

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर : : मान्यवर, मैं दस मिनट और लूंगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I can't give you so much time.

SHRI SURENDRA SINGH THAKUR: Kindly allow me, Sir. I know that from my party itself there are many speakers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Then it will be difficult to accommodate your colleagues... (*Interruptions*)..

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर : : आज दुनियां के जो देश उन्नतशील देश कहे जाते हैं, चाहे अमरीका हो कनाडा हो या आस्ट्रेलिया हो, जो खाद्यान्न के मामले में आगे हैं, वहां भी खाद्यान्न की पैदावार की स्थिति स्थिर हो गई है और अब वह उसे आगे नहीं बढ़ा पा रहे हैं और जनसंख्या बढ़ रही है, उसकी वजह से उनको भी खाद्यान्न उपलब्ध कराने में तकलीफ महसूस हो रही है । रूस भी खाद्यान्न के मामले में पिछड़ गया है, चीन भी अपने 112 करोड़ लोगों को खाद्यान्न उपलब्ध कराने में मुश्किल महसूस कर रहा है । भारत के बारे में जो तथ्य मैं रखना चाहता हूं कि यहां परत भूमि बहुत थी उसको ठीक कर-करके खेत बनाये गए लेकिन अब उसकी भी सीमा समाप्त होने जा रही है । मैं चूंकि एक किसान हूं परिवार से आता हुं मैं जानता हूं यह तथ्य सदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूं कि खेत की जो उपजाऊ शक्ति है वह जब उसको नया-नया तैयार किया जाता है तो ज्यादा रहती है और जब समय बीतता जाता है तो उसकी शक्ति धीरे-धीरे कम होती जाती है उत्पादन क्षमता कम होती जाती है । हमारे देश की जनसंख्या चूंकि बढ़ रही है, उत्पादन की स्थिरता की स्थिति आने वाली है इसलिए इस बात का हमें बहुत गंभीरता से विचार करना होगा कि आने वाले समय में हम यह जो सबसिडी वगैरह बंद करने की बात है इसके बारे में तो विचार करें नहीं, बल्कि और कुछ ऐसे उपाय सोचें जिससे कि किसानों की मदद करके उनको खाद्यान्न पैदा करने के लिए उत्साहित किया जा सके ।

श्री ईश्वर लाल यादव : : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ् आर्डर है । इतने महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है और हम समझते हैं कि दो मंत्री हैं और दोनों सो रहे हैं और कोई नोट नहीं कर रहा है । जबकि इतने महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है ।

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में उप मंत्री (कु० गिरिजा व्यास) : हम बैठे हैं ।... (*व्यवधान*)

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर : : मान्यवर, जब मैं कृषि की बात कर रहा हूं, कृषि जगत की बात कर रहा हूं तो मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि यह पूरा क्षेत्र ग्रामीण क्षेत्र कहलाता है और इसमें आज भी हम पानी, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य और सड़क का उचित प्रबन्ध नहीं कर पाए हैं । इस दिशा में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में चर्चा की गई है । चूंकि यह सरकार अभी-अभी गठित हुई है इससे बहुत सारी अपेक्षाएं हमें नहीं इस पूरे सदन को, पूरे देश को हैं । मुझे उम्मीद कि इस दिशा में सरकार असरकारक कदम उठा कर इस काम को आगे बढ़ाएंगी ।

मान्यवर, योजना आयोग के बारे में मैं सिर्फ इतना निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि योजना आयोग क्योंकि उसका गठन होने वाला है और मैं अपनी सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे नेता स्व० राजीव जी की इच्छा थी कि हमारी जो योजना बने वह ब्लाक स्तर से शुरु हो, फिर डिस्ट्रिक लेबल पर बने, स्टेट लेबल पर बने और उसके बाद केन्द्र में बनाई जाए ।

इसका तात्पर्य यह था कि ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा लोगों का इनवाल्वमेंट योजना बनाने में होना चाहिए । सिर्फ एअर कंडीशंड हाल में चार, पांच या आठ लोग इस देश की योजना बनाएंगे तो वह कारगर साबित नहीं होगी । इसलिए आवश्यक यह है कि योजना आयोग में प्रत्येक वर्ग के व्यक्ति का नोमीनेशन हो, हर प्रकार के लोगों को वहां प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाए ताकि सभी प्रकार के लोगों के हित की सुरक्षा उनके माध्यम से की जा सके ।

मान्यवर, देश के युवा वर्ग के साथ जितना धोखा पिछली सरकार द्वारा किया गया, ऐसा पहले कभी नहीं हुआ होगा । इन्होंने वायदा किया था कि हम काम के अधिकार को संविधान में शामिल कर

तुमको रोजगार प्रदान करेंगे । मान्यवर, नौजवान की सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता रोजगार की होती है । पिछली सरकार ने वायदा तो किया, लेकिन नहीं दे पाए और इसी कारण उस नौजवान ने इनको रिजेक्ट कर दिया । इसलिए मैं इस सरकार को यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हमारा मेनिफेस्टो, जो हमारे आदरणीय राजीव जी द्वारा बनाया गया था, वह हमारे लिए गीता है, रामायण है । उसके सभी वाक्यों का अक्षरशः पालन हम को करना पड़ेगा (*समय की घंटी*) इस मेनिफेस्टो में एक करोड़ रोजगार प्रत्येक वर्ष में देने का वायदा किया गया है जिसकी बहुत जरुरत है ।

मान्यवर, मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में भी कुछ गुणात्मक परिवर्तन कर उसे रोजगार उन्मुख बनाया जाएगा । यह नयी शिक्षा नीति के माध्यम से किया जाएगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर : मान्यवर, मैं एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात सदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूं । हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण हुआ है, उसमें भी इसकी संक्षिप्त में चर्चा हुई है । मान्यवर, आज देश में सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता अगर किसी चीज की है तो वह राष्ट्रीय चरित्र निर्माण की है । इसके संदर्भ में हमारी साथी और सम्माननीय सदस्या रेणुका जी ने भी सुबह चर्चा की है । चाहे टेलिविजन हो, रेडियो हो या दूसरे माध्यम हों, हमको नजर न नहीं आता कि उनके द्वारा कोई ऐसा काम किया जा रहा है जो कि राष्ट्र हित में हो या जो राष्ट्र के नौजवानों या दूसरे लोगों को प्रेरणादायक हो । इसलिए मैं ऐसे कार्यक्रमों की आवश्यकता महसूस करता हूं जिनके माध्यम से राष्ट्रीय प्रेरणा या राष्ट्रभक्ति की बात की जा सके और उनके अंदर वह भावना पैदा की जा सके । यह आज के संदर्भ में बहुत आवश्यक भी है ।

मान्यवर, एस०सी०, एस०टी० का जहां तक सवाल है, उनको आरक्षण करने का वायदा राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में किया गया है । उसमें एक बात और कही गयी है कि एक राष्ट्रीय आयोग का गठन जल्दी किया जाएगा । मान्यवर, मैं श्री राम विलास पासवान जी का उस सदन में दिया भाषण पढ़ रहा था । वह बहुत जोर-जोर से वकालत करते हैं, उनकी अपनी सरकार को भी, जहां हरिजनों को 15 प्रतिशत रिजर्वेशन मिलना चाहिए था, वहां मात्र साढ़े सात प्रतिशत पर संतुष्ट रहना पड़ा । आदिवासी भाइयों का जहां 7 प्रतिशत रिजर्वेशन मिलना चाहिए था, वहां सिर्फ दो-तीन प्रतिशत पर संतुष्ट रहना पड़ा । यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है और उनके लिए शर्म की बात है । मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि कांग्रेस के शासनकाल में इस विसंगति को दूर किया जाएगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Will you kindly conclude?

SHRI SURENDRA SINGH THAKUR: Yes, Sir, within two minutes.

मान्यवर, मैं एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा सदन के सामने रखना चाहता जो कि पिछड़े वर्ग से संबंधित है । मान्यवर, संविधान के आर्टिकल 15(4) और 16(4) में इस बात का उल्लेख किया गया है कि शैक्षणिक और सामाजिक रुप से पिछड़ वर्ग के लोगों को समानता प्रदान करने के लिए, उनको आगे बढ़ाने के लिए प्रावधान किया जाए । मैं, श्री उपेन्द्र जी यहां नहीं हैं, उनसे और उनके माध्यम से भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री वी०पी० सिंह जी से कहना चाहता हूं कि आपने और आपके साथियों ने जितना क्रूर मजाक इस वर्ग के साथ किया है, उसके लिए इतिहास आपको कभी क्षमा नहीं करेगा । आपने बिना राष्ट्रीय बहस के, बिना एक अच्छी प्रक्रिया के मंडल आयोग की रिपोर्ट लागू करने की घोषणा कर दी और उसकी प्रतिक्रियास्वरुप काफी जानें नौजवानों की गयीं, देश में आग लग गयी और शायद

[श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर]

आप जिसका हित करने जा रहे थे, उनका हित भी नहीं हो पाया मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं कि अब इस मुद्दे पर आप राजनीति खेलना बंद कर दें । मान्यवर, कांग्रेस की भी यह इच्छा रही है और कांग्रेस की इच्छा का सबसे बड़ा सबूत यह है कि हमारे मेनिफेस्टो में, जो आदरणीय राजीव जी ने बनाया था... कि हमारे मेनिफ़ेस्टो में आदरणीय राजीव जी ने बताया था और साफ-साफ लिखवाया था कि बेकवर्ड क्लासेस को रिजर्वेशन दिया जाएगा । उसमें कहीं कोई हीले-हवाले की जरूरत नहीं है । यह कांग्रेस का तरीका होता है कोई काम करने का । अगर वह अपने तरीके से करवाना चाहते है तो ऐसा हो नहीं सकता है हमको पूरा विश्वास है अपनी सरकार के ऊपर, कि जो राजीव जी ने घोषणा-पत्र में वायदा किया है बेकवर्ड क्लासेस को रिजर्वेशन देने का उसको पूरा किया जाएगा । इसके साथ ही जो पिछड़े वर्ग के लिए एक विकास निगम गठन करने का वायदा किया गया है उसको भी पूरा किया जाएगा ।

मान्यवर, माइनोरिटीज के बारे में जो कार्यक्रम प्रपोज किए गए हैं, उनका मैं स्वागत करता हूं लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इसमें स्त्री शिक्षा की चर्चा नहीं की गई है । आज सबसे ज्यादा आवश्यकता माइनोरिटीज की बहनों को शिक्षा देने की है । मैं इस बात को महत्वपूर्ण मानता हूं कि माइनोरिटीज की महिलाओं को शिक्षा प्रदान की जाए और उसकी सुव्यवस्था सरकार के द्वारा ही होनी चाहिए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Thakur, you have repeatedly said you are concluding within two minutes, but you are still continuing with your speech.

SHRI SURENDRA SINGH THAKUR: Only one minute more, Sir.

सर, कांग्रेस की सरकार में कार्य करने की क्षमता है, सेवा करने की क्षमता है, चुनौतियों का मुकाबला करने का साहस है । उसमें अपने आपको और देश को एकजुट रखने का संकल्प है । उसमें जनादेश को पूरा करने की है रचनात्मक इच्छा शक्ति है । मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि जो राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में मंशाएं कांग्रेस के द्वारा व्यक्त की गई हैं, उनको आने वाले समय में जब दुबारा राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर यहां चर्चा करेंगे तो पूरा पाएंगे ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का, जो जयंती नटराजन जी के द्वारा इस माननीय सदन में रखा गया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूं । धन्यवाद ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I request the Members to at least adhere to the time limit. Otherwise it will be difficult to complete the debate. Not more than ten minutes to each Member.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (हरियाणा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस समय इस सदन में राष्ट्रपति जी को भेजे जाने वाले धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव के उपर चर्चा चल रही है ।

श्रीमन, संसदीय प्रणाली की यह एक बहुत खूबसूरत परम्परा है कि हर नई लोकसभा के गठन के बाद और हर साल के प्रथम सत्र के प्रारंभ में राष्ट्रपति जी स्वयं आकर दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों को संयुक्त रूप से संबोधित करते हैं और उनके इस कृत्य के लिए दोनों सदन अलग-अलग ढंग से, अलग-अलग रूप से उनको धन्यवाद ज्ञापित करते हैं ।

महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण उस समय की सत्तारूढ़ सरकार का नीतिगत वक्तव्य हुआ करता है, जो सरकार की उपलब्धियों को दर्शाता है और उसकी भावी योजनाओं की तरफ संकेत करता है । वर्तमान सरकार का यह वक्तव्य, राष्ट्रपति जी का इस बार का अभिभाषण उपलब्धियों की दस्तावेज तो हो ही नहीं सकता था क्योंकि एक तो इस सरकार को आए केवल चंद दिन हुए थे और वैसे भी उपलब्धियों के नाम पर गिनाने लायक इस सरकार के पास केवल दो ही बातें थी— पंजाब में चुनावों का स्थगन और दूसरा रुपए

का अवमूल्यन । यदि कुछ और दिन बाद यह अभिभाषण होता तो शायद ऐसी कुछ और उपलब्धियां इस अभिभाषण में जुड़ जातीं । बहरहाल बीस पृष्ठों और साठ पैराग्राफों में सिमटा हुआ यह अभिभाषण सरकार की भावी योजनाओं की तरफ जरूर संकेत कर रहा है ।

महोदय, कल धन्यवाद ज्ञापन पर चर्चा प्रारंभ करते हुए इस अभिभाषण की प्रस्तुता के रूप में बहिन जयन्ती नटराजन ने लगभग डेढ़ घंटे का समय लिया । मुझे उम्मीद थी कि वह अभिभाषण के विभिन्न बिन्दुओं पर अपनी पार्टी का व्यापक दृष्टिकोण रखेंगी, उनकी कुछ विस्तृत व्याख्या यहां करेंगी, लेकिन मझे अफसोस है कि डेढ़ घंटे में से तीन-चौथाई समय उन्होंने केवल उन दो राजनीतिक बिंदुओं के ऊपर लिया, जिसका उल्लेख राष्ट्रपति जी ने महज दो पंक्तियों के अंदर किया था और तमाम का तमाम अभिभाषण खुला छोड़ दिया ।

महोदय, इस अभिभाषण का प्रारंभ बहुत ही दर्दनाक घटना से हुआ है । इस घटना का वर्णन करते हुए जयन्ती जी बहुत भाव-विह्वल हो गई थीं, जो मैं समझती हूं कि बहुत स्वाभाविक है ।

क्योंकि राजीव गांधी केवल उनके दल के नेता ही नहीं थे, बल्कि वह उस घटना की चश्मदीद गवाह भी थीं, उन्होंने उस भयावह दृश्य को अपनी आंखों से देखा है । जिस घटना की केवल तस्वीरें ही इतनी खौफनाक हैं कि देखकर के कठोर से कठोर आदमी का दिल दहल जाता है उस क्रूर दृश्य को जिस महिला ने अपनी आंखों से देखा हो, उस घटना के प्रसंग आते ही उनका भावुक हो जाना आवश्यक है, वह बात हमारी समझ में आती है । इसलिए उनके भावुक होने पर किसी तरह की अनावश्यक टिप्पण करना मैं समझती हूं संवेदनाविहीनता है । यह घटना केवल दर्दनाक नहीं है महोदय, बल्कि यह घटना अत्यंत शर्मनाक भी है । जो देश अहिंसा परमोधर्मः के सिद्धान्त में विश्वास रखता हो, जो देश शांति और प्रेम के लिए पूरे विश्व में विख्यात हो, उस देश के कुछ लोग, कुछ संगठन अपनी बात को मनवाने के लिए, अपने मत की अभिव्यक्ति करने के लिए या अपनी किसी हार का बदला लेने के लिए हिंसा और हत्या का सहारा ले तो इससे ज्यादा निन्दनीय बात और नहीं हो सकती । यह ठीक है कि राजीव गांधी जी के साथ हमारे कुछ राजनैतिक मतभेद रहे, वह एक भिन्न राजनीतिक विचारधारा के पोषक रहे, लेकिन जिस जघन्यता से, जिस बर्बरता से उनकी हत्या की गई है उससे पूरा देश शर्मसार है और पूरा देश चाहता है कि उनकी हत्या की जांच का काम जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा होना चाहिए और दोषियों को सख्त से सख्त सजा का प्रावधान किया जाना चाहिए । लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है इस बात को कहते हुए कि सरकार इस बात की तरफ़ बहुत ज्यादा गंभीर दिखाई नहीं पड़ती है । अभी कल ही राज्य सभा में इस सवाल का जवाब देते हुए गृह मंत्री जी ने एक लिखित विवरण दिया, उसकी केवल तीन छोटी सी लाइनें मैं पढना चाहूंगी :—

"27–05–91 को पुरानी सरकार ने यानी उनकी हत्या के एक सप्ताह के अंदर-अंदर पुरानी सरकार ने जांच आयोग का गठन किया । उस आयोग को 3 महीने के भीतर अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत करनी है ।"

लेकिन इसी लिखित विवरण में मौजूदा सरकार ने कहा कि '—

"आयोग के विचारार्थ विषयों को संशोधित करने का प्रश्न सरकार के विचाराधीन है ।"

महोदय, 27–05–91 को जिस आयोग का गठन हुआ, उसकी कार्यवधि 27 अगस्त, 1991 को समाप्त हो जाएगी और आज 18 जुलाई, 1991 है । केवल एक महीना नौ दिन का समय बाकी है और आज अभी सरकार इस बात पर विचार कर रही है कि आयोग के सामने जो विचारार्थ विषय जाने हैं उनका संशोधन किया जाए । मैं पूछना चाहती हूं

[श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ठाकुर]

सरकार से कि क्या उनके द्वारा इस देरी के चलते वे यह मानते हैं कि आयोग इस समय-सीमा के अंदर अपनी रिपोर्ट दे देगा ? और अगर नहीं देगा और इसकी अवधि बढ़ानी पड़ेगी तो मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि उस देरी की मूल्लत' जिम्मेदारी सरकार के ऊपर होगी । इतनी लापरवाही सरकार इसके प्रति न बरते । देश चाहता है कि यह जानना कि किन लोगों ने राजीव गांधी की हत्या की, किस उद्देश्य से प्रेरित होकर की और क्या हासिल करने के लिए की ? लेकिन अगर इस तरह की चिन्ता विपक्ष की तरफ से व्यक्त की जाती है तो इस पर व्यंग्यात्मक फब्तियां कसी जाती है । यह कहा जाता है आज विपक्ष के लोगों को राजीव गांधी की चिंता सताने लगी है । ठीक कहा था कल श्री गुरुदास दासगुप्त जी ने कि राजीव गांधी की हत्या पर चिंता जताना कांग्रेस पार्टी का एकाधिकार नहीं है, पूरा देश इस पर चिंतित है और इसलिए मैं आज सदन के माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार इस जांच का काम जल्द से जल्द पूर्ण करे और दोषियों को सजा देने का काम पूर्ण करे ।

महोदय, इस अभिभाषण के पैरा 6 में पंजाब में चुनावों को स्थगित करने का जिक्र है । राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह कहा है कि :—

"पंजाब में विधान सभा और लोक सभा के चुनाव 22 जून, 1991 को होने वाले थे, किंतु उम्मीदवारों की बड़े पैमाने पर हत्या और उग्रवादियों द्वारा फैलाए गए भय और आतंक के वातावरण के कारण स्वतंत्र और निष्पक्ष चुनाव कराना असंभव हो गया । इसलिए मतदान 25 सितम्बर, 1991 तक के लिए स्थगित कर दिया गया है ।"

महोदय, क्षमा करेंगे आप, यह तर्क एक ऐसा तर्क है जो किसी भी देशवासी के गले के नीचे नहीं उतरेगा । जहां तक उग्रवादियों के द्वारा हिंसक कार्रवाई करने का ताल्लुक है, यह कार्रवाई चुनाव की घोषणा करने से पहले भी जारी थी और उन तारीखों में चुनाव की घोषणा करने के बाद भी कोई फर्क नहीं आया था । रोजाना एक न एक उम्मीदवार की हत्या कर दी जाती थी । यही नहीं चुनाव के 3 दिन पहले तो पंजाब में कहर बरपा था जहर । रहे चलते रेलगाड़ियों के ऊपर अंधाधुन्द फायरिंग करके 100–125 यात्रियों को एक साथ मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया था । यदि उस दिन निर्वाचन आयुक्त चुनाव स्थगित करने की घोषणा करते तो यह तर्क समझ में आ सकता था । उस दिन लोगों को अपेक्षा भी थी कि शायद पंजाब में चुनाव टल दिए जायेंगे लेकिन बजाय टालने के पूरी दृढ़ता से निर्वाचन आयुक्त ने ऐलान किया कि नहीं, पंजाब में चुनाव करने का काम जारी रहेगा, पंजाब में चुनाव होकरके रहेंगे । तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि 21 तारीख को रात को निर्वाचन आयुक्त को कौन सा ज्ञान चक्षु खुल गया था जिसके माध्यम से उनको दिखाई दिया कि पंजाब में चुनाव करवाने लायक माहौल नहीं रह गया है, पंजाब में चुनाव करवाने लायक वातावरण नहीं रह गया है । और फिर जिस तरीके से चुनाव सम्पन्न करवाये गए, स्थगित करवाए गए वह तो और भी ज्यादा शर्मनाक हिस्सा है । वह सरकार जिसके प्रधान मंत्री, जिस सरकार की कैबिनेट ने पंजाब में चुनाव कराने का फैसला किया था उस सरकार के मुखिया ने अब तक नए प्रधान मंत्री को चार्ज नहीं सौंपा था, लेकिन उस सरकार के मुखिया को भी विश्वास में लेने की जरूरत नहीं समझी गयी । वह राजनीतिक पार्टियां जो अपनी जान हथेली पर रखकर के पंजाब में चुनाव लड़ रहीं थी, उन राजनीतिक दलों से भी सलाह मशवरा करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी गयी । वह राज्यपाल जो 21 तारीख को रात को राज्य के नाम संदेश प्रसारित करके पंजाब की जनता को निर्भय होकरके मतदान करने की बात कर रहे थे उन

[Shri Jagesh Desai]

order. What she has said is, they were partial to some party and that is why it was done. That is the allegation. It is a wrong thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Yes, Madam. Please go on.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अगर किसी संस्था के माध्यम से पक्षपातपूर्ण व्यवहार किया जाता है तो उस पर आरोप लगाया जा सकता है ... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Even the press has reported it. (*Interruption*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, I raised a point of order. What is your ruling? (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): She has mentioned about the Election Commission and not about the Commissioner.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, kindly go through the record. She made personal attack on the Chief Election Commissioner. It is on record. Kindly go through the record. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I shall go into the record. If there is a personal attack, then it will be expunged.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं पंजाब के चुनाव स्थगन प्रसंग पर बोल रही हूं और मेरा आरोप है कि पंजाब में चुनाव केवल इसलिए स्थगित कराए गए कि कांग्रेस की अल्पमत वाली सरकार और ज्यादा अल्पमत में न आ जाए । महोदय, 21 तारीख की रात इसके लिए बहुत प्रासांगिक है क्योंकि 21 तारीख की रात तक सारे चुनाव परिणाम आ गए थे । कुल 504 सीटें जिन पर चुनाव संपन्न हुआ था उसमें से केवल 227 सीटें कांग्रेस जीत सकी थी और बाकी तमाम सहयोगी पार्टियों की सीट मिलाने के बाद भी बहुमत का आंकड़ा नहीं बनता था । अगर 22 तारीख को पंजाब में चुनाव हो जाते तो चूंकि कांग्रेस पार्टी वहां चुनाव नहीं लड़ रही थी इसलिए उनके किसी आदमी के जीतकर आने का तो प्रश्न ही नहीं था । ऐसी हालत में अन्य विपक्षी लोग चुनकर आ जाते और कांग्रेस का अल्पमतीय चरित्र और अल्पमत में आ जाता । उनको इस परिस्थिति से बचाने के लिए, उनको इस दुविधाजनक स्थिति से बचाने के लिए निर्वाचन आयोग ने चुनाव स्थगित करने का फैसला किया और मेरा यह भी आरोप है कि उनके इस काम के कारण यह प्रदेश जो वर्षों के बाद सामान्य हालत की तरफ बढ़ सकता था, उस प्रदेश को क्षुद्र दलीय स्वार्थ के लिए दोबारा से अलगाववाद की आग में धकेल दिया गया ... **(व्यवधान)**

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : कितने आदमी मारे गए पंजाब में राजीव गांधी के मरने के बाद ?

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : आपका मुझ से वादा है, आप मुझे टोकेंगे नहीं । वादाखिलाफी मत कीजिए वरना आप पर वादाखिलाफी का आरोप लग जाएगा ... **(व्यवधान)**

महोदय, आगे जम्मू और कश्मीर का जिक्र है । जम्मू और कश्मीर से संबंधित एक संशोधन विधेयक सदन में पेश किया गया था। मेरी पार्टी के साथी श्री कृष्ण लाल शर्मा जी ने हमारी पार्टी का दृष्टिकोण उसमें रख दिया था । मैं उसे दोहराना नहीं चाहूंगी ।

महोदय, पैरा 9 में राम जन्मभूमि बाबरी मस्जिद का जिक्र है । मैं इससे अंत में लेना चाहूंगी नहीं तो नारायणस्वामी टोकाटाकी शुरू कर देंगे और हो सकता है कि रत्नाकर पाण्डेय जी भी वादाखिलाफी करें । इसलिए इस मुद्दे को मैं अंत में लूंगी ।

महोदय, पैरा 10 में हमारे सशस्त्र बलों पर राष्ट्रपति जी ने गर्व जताया है

राज्यपाल को खबर करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी गयी, वह सभापक्ष जिसने अपने ऊपर शांतिपूर्ण चुनाव सम्पन्न करने की जिम्मेदारी ओढ़ी हुई थी उस सभापक्ष से बात करने की आवश्यकता महसूस नहीं की गयी और एकतरफा एक निर्वाचन आयुक्त ने कर दिया । मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि यह देश किसी निर्वाचन आयुक्त को जेबी जागीर है जिससे वह अपनी बिजनेस पर चल सकते हैं ।

* * * *

* * * *

लेकिन मेरा आरोप है इस सदन के माध्यम से, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि पंजाब में चुनाव केवल इसलिए ... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Sir, I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): He is on a point of order.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: I am not speaking anything irrelevant.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, please hear me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Let me listen to his point of order.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while speaking on the President's Address, the hon. lady Member is referring to the Chief Election Commissioner and she is criticising the conduct of the Election Commission at the time of election. She is attacking him personally. (*Interruptions*). Any issue relating to the Chief Election Commissioner is to be raised only by way of a substantive motion. The hon. lady Member cannot criticise the Chief Election Commissioner who cannot defend himself in this House. Therefore, I would like to say that whatever she spoke relating to the Chief Election Commissioner has to be removed from the records. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I think she mentioned only 'Commission'.

THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I make a submission?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: There was a personal attack on the Chief Election Commissioner. She said that *** It is a matter of record.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have heard her carefully. She was referring to what happened during the election and what the Election Commission did at that time. And this House can discuss that aspect. We are not discussing the impeachment of the person, not at all. And she is not making a personal attack against Mr. Seshan No.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It is on record. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: She was only pointing out the omissions, commissions and irregularities committed by the Election Commissioner and she has a right to do that.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: There was a personal attack on the Chief Election Commissioner by the lady Member.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please go on, Madam.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Sir, I am on a point of

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

जो बहुत सही भी है । साथ ही यह संकल्प भी किया गया है कि सरकार रक्षा सेवाओं के कार्यरत तथा सेवा-निवृत कार्मिकों के लिए विभिन्न कल्याणकारी योजनाओं पर अमल जारी रखेगी । यहां कबिनेट मंत्री बैठे हैं, वे हमारे हाउस के सदस्य भी हैं । मैं आपके माध्यम से उन तक और सरकार तक यह बात पहुंचाना चाहती हूं कि जो विभिन्न कल्याणकारी योजनायें हैं उन पर तो आप अमल जारी रखिए ही लेकिन भूतपूर्व सैनिकों की जो एक मांग वर्षों से लंबित पड़ी है एक रैंक एक पेंशन की, उसे आप जरूर पूरा कीजिए । मुझे समझ में नहीं आता सरकार को इसे मानने में क्या एतराज है ? अगर यह मांग सरकार मान ले तो भूतपूर्व सैनिकों के बहुत बड़े वर्ग की हमदर्दी सरकार हासिल कर सकती है।

महोदय, पैरा 11 से लेकर पैरा 16 तक एक अभूतपूर्व आर्थिक संकट का जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी ने किया है और उन्होंने कहा है कि देश अपनी सामर्थ्य से अधिक खर्च करता रहा है और आसान तरीके अपनाता रहा है । मैं जानना चाहती हूं कि यहां देश के मायने क्या हैं ? यदि यहां देश का मायना सरकार है तो आजादी के बाद के 44 वर्षों में से 40 वर्षों तक जिस दल की सरकार इस देश पर काबिज रही है क्या वह इस आर्थिक संकट की जिम्मेदारी से बरी हो सकता है ।

आप तो जानते हैं कि विपक्ष का शासन या गैर कांग्रेस दलों का शासन हिन्दुस्तान पर कुल चार वर्ष के लिए रहा और वह भी टुकड़ों में । 40 साल तक एक दल का एकछत्र शासन इस देश पर रहा । तो इसके आर्थिक संकट की जिम्मेदारी किसके ऊपर है ? क्या विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की सरकार को कोसा या चन्द्रशेखर की 6 महीने की सरकार पर दोषारोपण करके आप अपनी जिम्मेदारी से बरी हो सकते हैं ? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि 1984 से 1989 तक आपने आयात की ऐसी नीति अपनाई कि देश का विदेशी मुद्रा भंडार खोखला करके रख दिया । क्या यह सच नहीं है कि कांग्रेस की सरकार जब गई तब देश के विदेशी मुद्रा भंडार में केवल 5 हजार करोड़ रुपये थे जो कि केवल दो महीने के लिए पर्याप्त होते । आप आयात की बात करते हैं । हम आयात के विरुद्ध नहीं हैं । लेकिन आप आयात करिए उस तकनीक का जो भारत में उपलब्ध नहीं है, आप आयात कीजिए उस तकनीक का जो भारत में उपलब्ध तो है लेकिन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर की नहीं है । लेकिन आपने आयात किया हजामत बनाने वाले ब्लेड की तकनीक का । आपने आयात किया टूथपेस्ट की तकनीक का, आपने आयात किया सफ्ट ड्रिंक्स की तकनीक का । आपने आयात किया गुच्ची के जूतों का । मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या उन चीजों के बिना देश चल नहीं सकता था ? क्या देशी जूते पहनकर देश रह नहीं सकता था। पैप्सी कोला की बात की जाती है। महोदय जब पैप्सी कोला को यहां लाने की बात की गई तो देश को बताया गया कि पैप्सी कोला हम इसलिए इंपोर्ट कर रहे हैं कि वह पंजाब में लगेगा, वह आलू के चिप्स बनाएगा, उससे पंजाब में आलू की पैदावार बढ़ेगी । पैप्सी कोला वाले आए और उन्होंने सर्वे करके कह दिया कि पंजाब का आलू बहुत मीठा है, उसके चिप्स अच्छे नहीं बन सकते हैं । जब पैप्सी कोला की कंपनी आ रही थी तो कहा गया कि वे कीनू का कंसंट्रेट बनाएंगे जिसके कारण पंजाब में कीनू की पैदावार बढ़ेगी । लेकिन जब पैप्सी कोला आया तो उसने सर्वेक्षण करके कह दिया कि पंजाब का कीनू बहुत खट्टा है, इसका अच्छा कंसंट्रेट नहीं बन सकता है । वह आज क्या बना रहा है ? वह आज सफ्ट ड्रिंक बना रहा है और दीपेन घोष जी के सवाल के जवाब में सरकार ने आज ही माना है कि जो सीमा निर्धारित की गई थी लाइसेंस के अंदर उसकी 25 प्रतिशत सीमा का उल्लंघन पैप्सी द्वारा किया गया है । मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या देश देसी पेय या फलों का रस पीकर नहीं रह सकता था ? क्या अपने आपको आर्थिक संकट में झोंककर इस देश को पेप्सी कोला पिलाना बहुत जरूरी

(श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज)

था । ...यक्ष जी कि राष्ट्रपति जी आज तक मजबूरी की बात करते हैं । वह कह रहे हैं कि अखिल संकट आ गया है, हम हालात से मजबूर हो गए हैं । लेकिन मैं दन में कहना चाहती हूं कि ह मजबूरी ने ...यं पैदा की है, यह मजबूरी कांग्रेस सरकार की नीतियों के चलते पैदा हुई है, इसके लिए कोई दूसरा आदमी या दल दोषी नहीं है ।

उसके बाद राष्ट्रपति जी ने अप्रिय आर्थिक निर्णयों का जिक्र किया है । कहा है कि इस संकट से उबरने के लिए हमें कुछ कठोर निर्णय लेने होंगे । लेकिन उन्होंने दो तीन बार सरकार के इस संकल्प को दोहराया कि इन कठोर निर्णयों के लेते हुए भी हम इस बात का ध्यान रखेंगे कि इन निर्णयों का बोझ निर्धनों और गरीबों पर न पड़े । लेकिन हकीकत इस संकल्प को परिलक्षित नहीं करती । अभिभाषण में दो तीन बार इस बात को दोहराया गया है लेकिन सच्चाई यह है कि इसका बोझा निर्धनों पर बढ़ेगा ही नहीं, बोझा बढ़ गया है । दाल, रोटी, चप्पा, नमक, सब्जी ये तो निर्धनों के लिए भी जरूरी चीजें हैं । श्रीमन्, मैं अपने घर की सब्जी स्वयं लेने जाती हूं, अपने घर का राशन स्वयं लेने जाती हूं । सब्जी भी मदर डेयरी से खरीदती हूं जहां भाव सरकार द्वारा निर्धारित होते हैं । सामान सुपर बाजार से लाती हूं जहां भाव सरकार द्वारा नियंत्रित होते हैं, सरकार द्वारा तय किये जाते हैं, कोई मनमाने दाम नहीं ले सकता । दाल और परसों की पर्चियां लेकर मैं आई हूं । मैं 15 और 17 तारीख की पर्चियां लेकर आई हूं जिनमें लिखा है कैबेज–10 रुपए, शिमला मिर्च–14 रुपए, फ्रेंच बीन्स 12 रुपए, भिंडी–11 रुपए और टमाटर-15 रुपए प्रति किलो के भाव से मदर डेरी के बूथ में बिक रहे हैं । मैं आपसे पूछना चाहती हूं कि इन भावों के चलते क्या हरी सब्जियां खाना गरीब लोगों के लिए स्वप्न की बात नहीं हो गई है ?

यह सुपर बाजार की पर्ची है कल की 17 तारीख की । अरहर की दाल 17.55 पैसे है । यह पूरे देश में खाई जाती है । बाकी समय कुछ भी खायें लेकिन दोपहर के भोजन में कम से कम पूरे का पूरा देश एक-दो प्रांत को छोड़कर दाल और चावल खाता है और उस दाल में अरहर की दाल खाता है । वही अरहर की दाल 17.55 पैसे पार्लियामेंट अनेक्सी के सुपर बाजार में बिक रही है । यह पर्ची उसी सुपर बाजार की है । अगर आप चाहें तो मेज के माध्यम से आप तक पहुंचा सकती हूं । सरसों का तेल 41.40 पैसे बिक रहा है । मैं सरसों के तेल की बात कर रही हूं, मूंगफली के तेल की बात नहीं कर रही हूं जिसको आप कह सकते हैं शायद सम्पन्न लोग खाते हैं, धनी लोग खाते हैं । हमारे यहां कहते हैं कि अगर मूंगफली का तेल नसीब नहीं होता तो सरसों के तेल से सब्जी में छौंक लगाकर खा लो । वही सरसों का तेल 41.40 पैसे पार्लियामेंट अनेक्सी के सुपर बाजार में कल की तारीख में बिका है । आप कहते हैं कि आप निर्धन और साधनहीन पर बोझा नहीं डालना चाहते हैं । मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि अभिभाषण के अंदर इस तरह की बातें डलवाने वाले सरकार के प्रतिनिधि अपने वातानुकूलित कमरों से बाहर आयें और धरती के ऊपर खड़े होकर सच्चाई का सामना करें । अगर वे वाकई इस संकल्प को दोहराना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए कुछ नई नीतियां लेकर आयें ।

अभिभाषण के पैरा 14 में राजकोषीय असंतुलन की बात कही गई है । बड़ी दृढ़ता के साथ कहा गया है कि इस असंतुलन को दूर करने के लिए सरकारी खर्च को नियंत्रित किया जाएगा । यह तो एक ऐसा मुहावरा है जिसको भुनते-सुनते कान पक गये मगर नतीजा वही ढाक के तीन पात । जो भी सरकार पिछले सवा सात में आई हर एक ने इस बात की दुहाई दी है कि सरकारी खर्च को नियंत्रित करेंगे । जब यह बात सुनते हैं तो ऐसा लगता है जैसे फिर से किसी ने बासी खाने को निकाल कर नई सजावट के साथ परोस कर हमारे सामने रख दिया

हो । लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि सरकारी खर्च को नियंत्रित करने के लिए केवल दुहाई दी जाती है और इसके विपरीत सरकारी खर्च निरन्तर बढ़ता जा रहा है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं आपके माध्यम से कि पिछले सवा साल में तीन सरकारें आयीं तो क्या सरकार के किसी मंत्री ने अपने घर को, अपने कार्यालय के कमरे को ज्यों का त्यों साज-सज्जा के साथ स्वीकार किया ? क्या यह सच्चाई नहीं है कि हर मंत्रिमंडल के फेरबदल के बाद जब नया मंत्री अपने कमरे में जाता है तो उसको अपने रंग की पसंदगी या नापसंदगी का सबसे पहले ख्याल आता है ? किसी को ब्राउन पसन्द है, किसी को नीला पसन्द है तो किसी को हरा पसन्द है । जो रंग उसको पसंद है तो पहले वह दीवार का रोगन बदलवायेगा, उसके बाद सोफे की टपेस्ट्री बदलवायेगा, उसके साथ मैचिंग रंग के पर्दे लगवायेगा और उसके साथ-साथ फर्श का डैकोरा भी वैसा ही बदलवायेगा । इन पर हजारों रुपये नहीं लाखों रुपये खर्च किये जाते हैं । किसी को कमरा पसन्द नहीं तो वह कान्फ्रेंस रूम को तुड़वा कर अपना कमरा बनवा लेता है । किसी को कुर्सियों की शेप पसन्द नहीं तो किसी को साइज पसन्द नहीं । वे अपने हिसाब से उसको बदलवाते हैं । इस तरह से लाखों रुपये खर्च किये जाते हैं । अगर सीपी डब्लू डी के लोग सीमित बजट की दुहाई दें कि हमारे पास इतना बजट नहीं है तो हर विभाग के नीचे जो निगम और बोर्ड बने हुए हैं उन पर ये बगार की थोपी जाती है । हर एक निगम के अंदर कुछ अलग बजट का प्रावधान है जो केवल मंत्रियों की इच्छा-पूर्ति के लिए रखा गया है । क्यों नहीं सरकार के लोग पता लगाते ? लगाये प्रधान मंत्री जी पता । सरकार की ओर से एक मंत्री को केवल एक या दो टेलीफोन मुहैया कराये जाते हैं लेकिन ऐसे उदाहरण मिलते हैं जहां मंत्री के घरों पर दस-दस टेलीफोन का पीबीएक्स एक्सचेंज चल रहा है । सरकार की तरफ से एक मंत्री को एक या दो कार मुहैया कराई जाती है । किसी मंत्री के भी घर जाकर देख लीजिए 6 से कम कारें दिखाई नहीं देंगी । मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि कौन इन टेलीफोनों का बिल चुकाता है, कौन इन कारों के पैट्रोल का खर्च उठाता है ? क्या इन बोर्ड और निगमों का पैसा इस देश का पैसा नहीं है ? इसको पानी की तरह बहाने का काम किया जाता है इस देश में केवल मंत्रियों की साज-सज्जा के लिए ।

[उप-सभापति महोदया पीठासन हुईं]

उपसभापति महोदया, धन्यवाद, मुझे बहुत अच्छा लगता है आपकी अध्यक्षता में बात करना । मुझ को यह भी लगता है कि थोड़ी समय की छूट भी आपके हाथों से मिल जायेगी । अच्छा हुआ आप आसीन हो गईं । मैं आपका स्वागत करती हूं ।

उपसभापति : देखिये, समय तो आपका है, आपकी पार्टी का है । आप जितना चाहें मेरी तरफ ले लीजिए । अपनी पार्टी की इजाजत ले लीजिए ।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैं सरकारी खर्च के नियंत्रण की बात कर रही थी । लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहती हूं कि जब सरकारी खर्च पर कटौती की बात आती है तो निगाह उस क्लर्क पर आकर रुक जाती है जिसको ओवर टाइम मिलता है। सबसे पहले एक सुझाव यह दिया जाता है कि क्लर्क का ओवर टाइम बंद करो । वह क्लर्क जो अपने समय के बाद ड्यूटी ओवर होने के बाद बैठकर आपकी फाइलें निकालता है, उसी के ओवर टाइम को बंद करने की बात की जाती है । लेकिन मंत्रियों के साज-सज्जा के खर्च में कोई कटौती करने की बात नहीं की जाती है । अगर कटौती होगी तो उस खर्च को करने के लिए कोई दूसरे-तीसरे रास्ते निकाल लिये जाते हैं । यह जो दुहाई दी जाती है कि इस खर्च को कम किया जाए और वाकई आप चाहते हैं तो मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि आज के वित्त मंत्री महोदय 4 P.M. काफी संजीदा हैं.... । शालीन हैं और जिनकी दृढ़ता के लिये धाक है । अगर वे वाकई इसका पालन करवाना चाहते हैं तो वे सबसे पहले अपने तमाम मंत्रियों के यहां निगाह डालें और देखें कि वहां किस तरह से खर्च हो रहा है और देखें कि कि कौन कौन से निगम और बोर्ड हैं जिन पर ये बेगारें थोपी गई हैं । जब

[श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज]

वह ऐसा करेंगे तभी हमें उनके इस संकल्प में कोई बात नजर आयेगी।

उपसभापति महोदया, पैरा 15 में भुगतान संतुलन की बात का जिक्र किया गया है, उसकी भयावहता का जिक्र किया गया है। जहां तक भुगतान संतुलन की बात है, मैं समझती हूं कि सबसे पहले हमें धन्यवाद देना चाहिये अपने उन मजदूरों का जो बेचारे परदेश में अपनी हड्डियां घिसकर विदेशी मुद्रा कमाते हैं और अपने देश में भेजते हैं। अगर आप मजदूरों का पैसा इस भुगतान संतुलन की स्थिति से निकाल दें और केवल निर्यात से अर्जित विदेशी मुद्रा और आयात पर खर्च होने वाली विदेशी मुद्रा का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करें तो स्थिति इतनी भयावह नजर आयेगी जिसकी आप कल्पना नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह अकल्पनीय स्थिति है। कल 89-90 के कुछ आंकड़े सिन्हे जी ने सदन में रखे। वे यह दिखाना चाहते थे कि देखिये निर्यात से अर्जित की जाने वाली विदेशी मुद्रा कितनी कम है और आयात बिल कितना ज्यादा है। लेकिन शायद इसमें वे यह भूल गये, उनका इरादा पिछली सरकार पर आक्षेप करना था, लेकिन वे यह भूल गये कि नवंबर 1989 तक तो उनके अपने ही दल की सरकार थी। इस प्रकार उनके द्वारा इतना ज्यादा अंतर को दिखाने वाला जो आंकड़ा है वह आंकड़ा विपक्ष के कारण नहीं है बल्कि मूलतः उसकी प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी उनके ही दल की है, जिस दल के सदस्य के रूप में वे यह बात रख रहे थे। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि अगर आप भुगतान संतुलन की स्थिति को सही करने पर आमादा हैं, वाकई इस बारे में आप कृतसंकल्प हैं तो आपको इस तरह की नीतियां अपनानी होंगी जिससे निर्यात के द्वार खुल सकें और हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा विदेशी मुद्रा कमा सकें। साथ ही साथ हमें आयात पर भी अंकुश लगाना होगा और कम से कम ऐय्याशी की चीजों पर, ऐश्वर्य की चीजों पर तो अंकुश लगाया ही जा सकता है। आयात के बारे में मैं एक बात का जिक्र करना चाहूंगी, उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपका ध्यान चाहूंगी अभिभाषण में कहा गया है कि विदेशी कंपनियों के दरवाजे भारतीय भागीदारों के पूंजी निवेश के लिये खोले जाने चाहिये। उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कहना चाहूंगी कि यह जो विदेशी कंपनियों के भागीदारी की खुली बात हो रही है इसमें बहुत सावधानी बरतने की जरूरत है।

उपसभापति महोदया, मुझे मालूम नहीं है कि सरकार की तरफ से कोई बैठा है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्री वेंकटस्वामी जी बैठे हैं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : लेकिन वेंकटस्वामी जी इसे कान में लगायें। शायद मेरी हिन्दी उनकी समझ में न आती हो।.... (व्यवधान)

ग्रामीण विकास मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री जी० वेंकटस्वामी) : मैं आपकी हिन्दी अच्छी तरह से समझता हूं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : समझ रहे हैं? अगर समझ रहे हैं तो बहुत खुशी की बात है। वरना कम से कम कान पर लगा लें ताकि कोई बात आपके पल्ले पड़ सके।

महोदया, मैं यह कहना चाह रही थी और एक बहुत गंभीर बात मैं इसे सरकार के सामने रखना चाहती हूं और चाहूंगी कि उसका नोट मंत्री महोदय जरूर लें। जब हम विदेशी कंपनियों से या विदेशियों से तकनीकी आयात करने की बात करते हैं तो एक वाक्य है कि टेकनालाजी इज नाट इम्पर्सनल, तकनीकी कभी अवैयक्तिक नहीं होती। अगर आप विदेश से तकनीक मंगाते हैं तो उसके मायने केवल यह नहीं हैं कि विदेशों से केवल मशीनें आयेंगी। उसके मायने यह भी है जब विदेश से वह मशीनें आयेंगी तो उसी के साथ आयेगी उस देश की सभ्यता, उस देश की तहजीब, उस देश

का दर्शन, उस देश के आचार-विचार और सबसे ज्यादा उस देश की राजनैतिक दखलदांजी भी उसके साथ आयेगी। तो मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहती हूं कि विदेशी कंपनियों के द्वार खोलने के बाद कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आर्थिक संकट से उभरते उभरते हम राजनैतिक संकट में न फंस जायं। अगर इस सावधानी को सामने रखकर आप विदेशी कंपनियों के द्वार खोलेंगे तो शायद इसी देश को फायदा हो सकता है वरना हम एक ऐसे राजनैतिक संकट में फंस जायेंगे जिसमें पहले बहुत से देश फंस चुके हैं।

उपसभापति महोदया, पैरा 20 के बारे में मैं केवल एक मिनट अपनी बात कहना चाहूंगी। पैरा 20 में कच्चे तेल का उत्पादन और उसके शोधन की क्षमता को बढ़ाने के लिये उच्च प्राथमिकता दी जायेगी, इसका जिक्र है। लेकिन सरकार के कामों से ऐसा नहीं लगता। एक तेल शोधक कारखाना हमारे हरियाणा के करनाल में लगाने के लिये पिछले दस सालों से बात हो रही है। लेकिन उसका सिर्फ शिलान्यास करके छोड़ दिया गया है। तीन-तीन सरकारें बदल चुकी हैं। हमें सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया लेकिन आज तक शिलान्यास से आगे इस कार्य मे कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है। मैं सरकार के माध्यम से यह जानना चाहती हूं कि उस कारखाने का निर्माण कार्य कब शुरू होने वाला है, कब तक वह पूरा हो जाएगा? यदि तेलशोधन आज आपकी प्राथमिकता सूची पर आ गया है तो उस प्राथमिकता को निबाहने के लिए आप कम से कम करनाल का तेलशोधन कारखाना प्रारम्भ करवाएं।

उपसभापति महोदया, पैरा 21 में बिजली की बात है। कहा गया है कि आधारभूत व्यवस्था के विकास के बारे में सरकार विशेष ध्यान देगी। जहां तक बिजली का ताल्लुक है राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाएगा। लेकिन सच्चाई यह है कि इस सरकार के सत्तासीन होते ही बिजली गुल हो गई। इतनी भीषण गर्मी में दिल्ली वासियों को बिजली की कमी के कारण त्राहि त्राहि करना पड़ रहा है। इस सदन में उस त्राहिमाम् की गूंज गूंजी है किसी और के माध्यम से नहीं खुद कांग्रेस के सदस्य अहलुवालिया जी के माध्यम से। वैसे एक बात तो है कि अब कांग्रेस में भी कुछ आन्तरिक लोकतंत्र की झलक दिखाई देने लगी है। कम से कम अहलुवालिया जी इसके लिए बधाई के पात्र हैं। कभी तो वे अपनी ही सरकार के संशोधन विधेयक पर निरनुमोदन का नोटिस देते हैं, डिसअप्रूवल का नोटिस देते हैं, कभी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर उनकी तरफ से संशोधन आते हैं। तो एक आन्तरिक लोकतंत्र कांग्रेस में उनके माध्यम से आ रहा है इसलिए वे बधाई के पात्र हैं। चलो गत आन्तरिक लोकतंत्र आ जाए, यह बहुत बड़ी बात है। मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहती हूं (**व्यवधान**)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Bharatiya Janata Party is more democratic.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अरे मैं भूल गई नाम लेना, आप भी उसी में शामिल हैं। अहलुवालिया जी की कतार में नारायणसामी जी भी शामिल है। आपको भी बधाई, कांगरेचुलेशंस। मेरा इस पैरा के बारे में केवल इतना ही कहना है कि आधारभूत व्यवस्था के विकास के बारे में सरकार ने जिक्र किया है इसे केवल रस्मी बना कर के न रख दिया जाए बल्कि वाकई इस काम को प्राथमिकता बना कर के काम किया जाए तभी आधारभूत व्यवस्था पूरी हो सकेगी। (**समय की घंटी**) अभी राम जन्म भूमि का मसला मैं अंत में लूंगी।

उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी के 48 मिनट हैं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : 48 मिनट तो हमारे हैं और 10 मिनट कम से कम आप के हैं और 10 मिनट सैकिया साहब के तो कुल मिला कर के एक घंटा मिल जाएगा।

उपसभापति : सैकिया साहब की पार्टी के 10 मिनट आपको दे दिये लेकिन मेरा तो हाऊस में एक मिनट भी नहीं है।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : सैकिया साहब जितनी देर बैठे रहे उनको मैंने एड्रेस किया उसके 10 मिनट कह रही हूं (**व्यवधान**) मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं अगर सत्या बहिन जी अपने दे दें तो मैं आपकी शुक्रगुजार हूं। बी.जे.पी. ने तो दे ही रखा है। पैरा–26 के अन्दर युवा वर्ग के बारे में बात की गई है और युवा वर्ग से संबंधित रोजगार योजनाओं का जिक्र हुआ है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि उत्पादक रोजगार के अवसरों में शीघ्रता से वृद्धि करना हमारी योजना और आर्थिक नीति का मुख्य लक्ष्य होगा। मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहती हूं कि जो आर्थिक नीति सरकार अपनाने जा रही है उससे इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति नहीं होगी क्योंकि यह सत्य है कि कम पूंजी निवेश से लगने वाले लघु उद्योग ज्यादा रोजगार उन्मुख होते हैं, उनमें ज्यादा रोजगार पैदा करने की क्षमता होती है लेकिन ज्यादा पूंजी से लगने वाले लार्ज सेक्टर के उद्योग कम रोजगार पैदा करते हैं क्योंकि उनमें आटोमेटिक मशीनों की भूमिका ज्यादा होती है। जो नीतियां सरकार अपनाने जा रही है उनमें लघु उद्योगों का जिक्र नहीं है। विदेशी कम्पनियां जब आएंगी तो लघु उद्योग नहीं लगाएंगी। विदेशी कम्पनियों की तो आप देखेंगे कि होड़ लगने वाली है क्योंकि भारत में सस्ता श्रम उपलब्ध है और उस सस्ते श्रम का दोहन वह विदेशी कम्पनियां करना चाहेंगी। भारत का बाजार खुला पड़ा है और उस बाजार का इस्तेमाल करना चाहेंगी लेकिन वह कम्पनियां यहां ज्यादा रोजगार मुहैया नहीं करायेंगी। इसलिए मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूं कि यदि आप अपने कांग्रेस पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणा पत्र की वह बात कि एक साल के अन्दर एक करोड़ नौकरियां पैदा करेंगे यदि आप इस बात पर फूल चढ़ाना चाहते हैं तथा राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में लिखी हुई युवा वर्ग के लिए रोजगार पैदा करने वाली बात को सच्ची साबित करके दिखाना चाहते हैं तो आपको कुछ और नीतियां लानी पड़ेंगी, कुछ और योजनाएं बनानी पड़ेंगी। लेकिन उनका कोई उल्लेख मात्र भी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में नहीं है। आपने टिप्पी बजाई हुई है इसलिए मैं कम कर रही हूं। पैरा 28 से ले कर पैरा 32 तक जो बातें हैं अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति से संबंधित, गांवों की गरीबी से संबंधित हैं मैं उन बातों को संघ प्रिय जी के लिए छोड़ती हूं वह इन बातों को कहेंगे। मैं पैरा 34 लेती हूं जिसमें शिक्षा के बारे में कहा गया है। इस में शिक्षा के बारे में कोई नयी बात नहीं है। केवल एक बात कही गई है कि नये उत्साह से हम अपनी शिक्षा नीति को जो पुरानी शिक्षा नीति है को लागू करेंगे। प्रौढ़ शिक्षा की बात पर बल दिया गया है लेकिन मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कहना चाहती हूं कि आप प्रौढ़ शिक्षा पर इतना पैसा खर्च कर रहे हैं लेकिन वह बच्चा जो पांच वर्ष की उम्र में ही कचरा बीनने लग जाता है। वह बालक जो 5 वर्ष की उम्र में रेल-गाड़ी की पटरी पर जाकर कोयला बीनने का काम करता है, वह बालक जो 5 वर्ष की उम्र में ढाबे पर जाकर गिलास धोने का काम करता है या वे बालिकाएं जो 8–10 वर्ष की किशोर आयु के अंदर अपने छोटे भाई बहिनों को खिलाने लगती है, हंगर चराने लगती है, घर के झूठे बर्तन मांजने लगती है' उनको किस तरह से स्कूल में प्रवेश कराया जाए जब तक इस ओर सरकार का ध्यान नहीं जाएगा तब तक आपकी शिक्षा नीति का कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। अगर आप प्रौढ़ों को लाखों करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करके "क, ख, ग" पढ़ना सिखा देंगे तो उसका उतना लाभ देश को नहीं होगा जितना नुकसान भावी पीढ़ी को निरक्षर रखने से होगा। भावी पीढ़ी को अनिवार्य रूप से शिक्षा देना बहुत जरूरी और बहुत ही आवश्यक है। इसलिए मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूं कि इसके लिए कुछ ऐसी योजनाएं बनानी पड़ेंगी जिनसे हम उन बच्चों को स्कूल भेजने के लिए प्रेरित कर सकें, केवल निशुल्क शिक्षा देना काफी नहीं है क्योंकि ये बच्चे अपनी फेमिली के अपने घर के अर्निंग मेम्बर हो जाते हैं। पांच साल की उम्र से कमा कर लाकर देना शुरू करते हैं। इसलिए कोई मां बाप केवल निशुल्क शिक्षा के नाम पर उनको स्कूल भेजना नहीं चाहता है।

उपसभापति : टोटल पार्टी के टाइम के केवल 10 मिनट बचे हैं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : यदि इन्सेंटिव दे करके साथ में कुछ दण्ड का प्रावधान करके... (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभापति : तो बोलने दो। गौतम साहब के लिए सलीका नहीं होगा क्या।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : किसी भी तरीके से शिक्षा की अनिवार्यता हम बनाकर रख सकें और तमाम के तमाम इन बच्चों को जो स्कूल में नहीं जा रहे हैं और भविष्य के लिए जो निरक्षर पीढ़ी तैयार हो रही है, एक नुकसानदेह पीढ़ी तैयार हो रही है जब तक हम इसको नहीं रोकेंगे तब तक इस देश को हम संकटों से नहीं उबार पाएंगे क्योंकि इस देश का सबसे बड़ा संसाधन इसकी जनता है और जनता की क्षमता का पूरा उपयोग हम तब कर सकेंगे जब हम आगे आने वाली तमाम पीढ़ी को शिक्षित कर पाएंगे। इसलिए बेहद जरूरी है कि हर बच्चे को चाहे जोर जबर्दस्ती से, चाहे दण्ड का प्रावधान करके चाहे इन्सेंटिव देकर या पैसा खर्च करके, उनके लिए छात्रवृति योजना चलाकर हम उनको स्कूल में भेजें मगर जरूर भेजें। इस देश में पैदा होने वाला हर बालक बालिका स्कूल में जरूर जाए और कम से कम मिडिल तक की शिक्षा जरूर से जरूर प्राप्त करे, इस तरह की योजना जब तक सरकार की ओर से नहीं चलेगी तब तक इस देश के पूरे संसाधनों का उपयोग आप नहीं कर पाएंगे।

पैरा 35 में सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली का जिक्र किया गया है। आप तो महोदया, जानती हैं कि सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली का सीधा रिश्ता गरीब और उस मध्यम वर्ग से है जो बाजार से मंहगी चीज खरीदने की सामर्थ्य नहीं रखता है। आपने कभी किसी सम्पन्न घराने के आदमी को राशन की लाइन में खड़े होते नहीं देखा होगा लेकिन आज की जो वितरण प्रणाली है उससे धनाड्य से धनाड्य आदमी को भी राशन कार्ड जरूर बनवाना होता है और उसके हिस्से का कोटा राशन की दुकान पर आता है उसके यहां से कोई उस कोटे को उठाने नहीं जाता है इसलिए वह कोटा बाजार में ब्लैक में बेचा जाता है और तो इसके साथ ही कुछ अनियमितता करके उन गरीबों का भी कोटा बाजार में भेज दिया जाता है और चूंकि इस घनाड्य वर्ग को सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली के दायरे से बाहर रखा गया है इसलिए टोटल कोटा तन, कम तय किया गया है जो केवल आटे में नमक के बराबर है। आटे में नमक के बराबर। 5 सौ ग्राम चीनी एक आदमी को एक महीने में दी जाती है। मेरा सरकार से कहना है कि सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली आपकी दोषपूर्ण है। आप इन्हें फेयर प्राइस शॉप्स कहते हैं। पर आज जो अनियमितताएं इनमें हो रही हैं उनके कारण यदि इन्हें अनफेयर प्राइस शॉप्स कहा जाये तो वह ज्यादा तर्कसंगत लगेगा। इसलिए सरकार इस प्रणाली को पुनर्गठित करे। इसमें से वह घनाड्य वर्ग जो बाजार से महंगी चीज खरीद सकता है जिसकी जेब हर समय इजाजत देती है, उसकी पात्रता निकालकर वे गरीब लोग, वे मजदूर जो रोज कुआं खोदते हैं रोज पानी पीते हैं, वह कर्मचारी वर्ग जिसकी तनख्वाह में एक पैसे का जोड़ा नहीं होता है लेकिन जिसके राशन का बिल हर महीने बढ़ता चला जाता है जो अपनी आमदनी और खर्च के अंदर तालमेल नहीं बैठा सकता है, उनके लिए सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली की पात्रता बने और उसके ऊपर पर्याप्त कोटा तय हो। इसके साथ ही इस तरह की मशीनरी खड़ी करें जिससे सारी अनियमितताएं रोककर इस वितरण प्रणाली के माध्यम से लोगों को राहत बख्शी जा सके।

महोदया, अगले पैरा 38 से लेकर 56-58 तक के पैराग्राफ्स में विदेश नीति का जिक्र है.. (**समय की घंटी**) चूंकि आप बार बार घंटी बजा रही है इसलिए में बहुत ज्यादा बात इस पर नहीं करूंगी लेकिन अभी तो 10 मिनट मुझे राम जन्म भूमि पर लेने हैं वह

[श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज]

तो मेरी पार्टी से बाबस्ता सबसे बड़ा मुद्दा है।

उपसभापति: आपकी पार्टी के 10 मिनट बचे हैं। अब आप गगन कार्ड से दूसरी जगह पर चली जाइये।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: अभी तो दूसरी जगह जा रही हूं। केवल दो लाइनें विदेश नीति के बारे में.. (**व्यवधान**) मैं बिल्कुल मजा खराब नहीं करूंगी। मैं बिल्कुल इसी रौ में बात कहूंगी और आप सब की सहमति लेकर रहूंगी। उपसभापति जी, हमारे बिल्कुल दो ढाई देश बंगला देश और नेपाल के अंदर लोकतंत्र का सूर्य उदय हुआ है, बहुत ही खुशी की बात है। हमारी समझदारी, हमारे रिश्ते उससे ज्यादा घनिष्ठ हो सकेंगे, वहां लोकतंत्र की बहाली के बाद (**समय की घंटी**)

आपकी घंटी को सुन कर मैं विदेश नीति की सारी बातें छोड़ रही हूं, केवल एक बात कहना चाहती हूं कि जो सरकार आई है, उसने हमारी गुट-निरपेक्षता की नीति को बढ़ावा दिया है और आज भी उस नीति का तो दृढ़ता से पालन करना जरूरी है ही, लेकिन जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में परिवर्तन हो रहे हैं, वह भी हमारी सरकार की आंख से ओझल नहीं होने चाहिएं। उनका ध्यान हमें रखना चाहिए।

अब मैं आखिरी बात पर आती हूं। आखिरी पैराग्राफ में राष्ट्रपति जी ने बहुत गंभीरता के साथ इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि देश एक संकट की घड़ी से गुजर रहा है और यह बात सच बात है कि देश एक संकटकाल से गुजर रहा है। उन्होंने चाहा है कि हम पूरे आत्म-विश्वास के साथ, धीरज के साथ इस संकट को पार करें।

मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहती हूं कि ऐसे संकट के समय जिस तरह की मजबूत और दबंग सरकार की आवश्यकता होती है, आज उस तरह की मजबूत सरकार केंद्र में नहीं है।

जयन्ती नटराजन जी कल कह रही थीं कि हमारी सरकार को तो क्लियर मेनडेट मिला है सरकार चलाने का, पर यह बात हकीकत से परे है। आप जानते हैं केवल 37 प्रतिशत वोट कांग्रेस पार्टी को प्राप्त हुआ है और अगर मैं हकीकत रखूं, तो राजीव गांधी जी की हत्या के पश्चात 20 मई को होने वाले मतदान में कांग्रेस को केवल 32 प्रतिशत मत मिला है, 32 फीसदी मत जो आज तक का कांग्रेस के द्वारा प्राप्त किये गये मत प्रतिशत का सब से कम होता है।

1977 में जब अमृतसर से लेकर कलकत्ता तक कांग्रेस का सफाया हो गया था, उस समय भी उन्हें 32 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा मत नहीं मिला। इस बार 32 प्रतिशत मिला। बाद के मतदान में 40 प्रतिशत मत मिले, जिसकी औसत 37 प्रतिशत बैठती है।

क्लियर मेनडेट वह होता है, जिसमें कम से कम 51 प्रतिशत मत हासिल हो या कम से कम स्पष्ट बहुमत सीटों का प्राप्त हो। आज कांग्रेस के पास न सीटों का स्पष्ट बहुमत है और न 51 फीसदी वोट है। इसलिए मुझे नहीं मालूम नहीं कि वह किस आंकड़े के आधार पर इसको क्लियर मेनडेट कहती हैं। मेनडेट आया है आम राय से देश चलाने का किसी भी एक दल को स्पष्ट बहुमत देकर इस देश की जनता ने चाहा कि इस देश में एक आम सहमति का वातावरण बनना चाहिए इस देश को अब आम राय से सब को साथ बैठ कर के चलाना चाहिए। लेकिन मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहती हूं कि आम सहमति किसी भी एक दल विशेष के प्रति पूर्वाग्रह या दुराग्रह रख करके नहीं बनती। (**समय की घंटी**)

आम सहमति का वातावरण अहम-वादी दृष्टिकोण छोड़ करके बनती है। आम सहमति का वातावरण होलियर दैन दाऊ का एटिट्यूड त्याग करके बनती है। आम सहमति का वातावरण मनों को उदार बना करके बनता है और अगर एक बार आम सहमति के वातावरण

को इच्छा शक्ति में पैदा हो जाए, तो हिन्दुस्तान का कोई मसला ऐसा नहीं है जिसका समाधान नहीं निकल सकता, निराकरण नहीं हो सकता, भले ही वह कश्मीर का या पंजाब का मसला हो, भले ही वह असम का मसला हो, भले ही वह राम जन्म-भूमि-बाबरी मस्जिद का मसला हो।

कल राम जन्म-भूमि से संबंधित एविडेंस की बात चल रही थी। बिशम्भर नाथ पांडे जी कांग्रेस बेंचों से बोल रहे थे। मैं उनका श्रद्धा की हद तक आदर करती हूं। वह एक बड़े इतिहासविद है, इतिहास को जानते हैं। शायद मेरी जितनी उम्र है, उतनी उम्र उन्होंने इतिहास पढ़ने में गुजार दी है। लेकिन कल मुझे उनका तर्क समझ नहीं आया। उन्होंने बाबर की हुमायूं के नाम एक चिट्ठी पढ़ी, और यह कहा कि चूंकि उसने चिट्ठी में यह लिखा था कि तुम सब धर्मों का आदर करना, सब धर्मों के प्रति उदार नीति अपनाना, इसलिए जो व्यक्ति ऐसा लिखता है, क्या वह मंदिर तोड़ने का काम कर सकता है।

आज पांडे जी सदन में बैठे नहीं हैं लेकिन मैं आपके माध्यम से उन तक इस बात को पहुंचाना चाहती हूं कि, उपसभापति जी, जब एक बाप अपने बुढ़ापे में अपने बेटे को नीतिगत उपदेश देता है, तो वह केवल उन बातों का जिक्र नहीं करता, जिस नीति का उसने अपनी जिंदगी में पालन किया हो, बल्कि उन कुकर्मों को टालने की भी प्रेरणा उसको देता है, जिन कुकर्मों का पछतावा उसको अपनी जिंदगी के उत्तरार्ध में हो रहा होता है।

मैं इसे एक उदाहरण देकर पेश करना चाहती हूं। जिस समय भगवान राम ने रावण के पास अपने छोटे भाई लक्ष्मण को भेजा कि जाओ, जाकर उस विद्वान से नीति का संदेश ले कर आओ, कोई ज्ञान प्राप्त करके आओ, तो रावण ने उस समय वह संदेश नहीं दिया था जिन नीतियों का उसने पालन किया था, बल्कि उसने कहा था कि मैं एक ही संदेश देता हूं और वह संदेश यह है कि शुभ कर्मों को करने में देरी मत करना, दुष्कर्मों को सदा टालते रहना, लेकिन इस नीति को मैं अपनी जिंदगी में नहीं अपना सका। मैंने सीता का अपहरण तो तुरंत कर डाला.....लेकिन लंका की जो स्वर्ग के साथ सोने की सीढ़ी चढ़ाना चाहता था उसको यह कह करके कि अभी तो बहुत समय है, बहुत समय है, मैं टालता रहा। इसलिए नीति का उपदेश देते समय व्यक्ति उन बातों को सामने रखता है जिन बातों को वह या तो अपनी जिन्दगी में कर नहीं सका या करके पछताया। तो केवल इस वसीयत के ऊपर यह अंदाजा लगाना कि बाबर यह काम नहीं कर सकता था, गलत है। इतिहास के कितने सबूत उनको चाहिए? मैं यहां पेश करने के लिए तैयार हूं, जहां बाबर ने अपने सूबेदार मीर बाकी को यह आज्ञा करके कहा था, हुक्म दे करके कहा था कि इस विक्रमादित्य के बने मंदिर को तोड़ करके मस्जिद बनाओ, मैं एक सबूत देती हूं वह इतिहासवेत्ता यहां होते तो आज उनके सामने रखती। उपसभापति महोदया, अगर आप कभी अयोध्या गई हों तो आपको मालूम हो कि उस मस्जिद के बिल्कुल बाहर एक राम चबूतरा है।

उपसभापति: मैं नहीं गई हूं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: कोई बात नहीं, आपका जाना बनता भी नहीं है। कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है। लेकिन उसके बाहर एक राम चबूतरा है वह तो हमने नहीं बनवाया। कुछ लोग तो कह देते हैं कि आप झूठ और कपट कर रही हैं मूर्तियां आपने रखीं। वह राम चबूतरा तो हमने नहीं बनवाया। उस राम चबूतरे का इतिहास है कि अकबर जब राजा बने, चूंकि अकबर एक धर्म-निरपेक्ष राजा थे, सभी धर्मों का आदर करने वाले राजा थे, अकबर को जब यह जानकारी मिली कि यह मंदिर तोड़ करके मस्जिद बना दी गई है तो उन्होंने कहा कि अब वह मस्जिद तोड़ने का तो साहस नहीं कर सकते थे, उन्होंने उसी मस्जिद के बाहर राम चबूतरा बना करके वहां

[श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज]

राम मंदिर की मूर्तियां रखवा दीं क्योंकि वह जानते थे कि अयोध्या के लोग मस्जिद तोड़ने से नाराज़ हैं, नाखुश हैं, दुखी हैं। उनके दुख को दूर करने के लिए अकबर ने वह राम चबूतरा बनवाया। अगर वहां मंदिर नहीं था, अगर वह तोड़ करके मस्जिद नहीं बनी थी तो क्या हिन्दुस्तान की किसी और मस्जिद के बाहर राम चबूतरा या ऐसा कोई चबूतरा बना है? अयोध्या में वह राम चबूतरा अकबर ने बनवाया, यह इतिहास का दस्तावेज़ है। शिल्पकला के बीसियों दस्तावेज़ पेश कर सकती हूं। जो लोग यहां बैठे हैं वह अयोध्या जा करके देख लें या जो अयोध्या गए हुए हैं उन्होंने देखा होगा यह तो आप मानते हैं कि हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों की शिल्पकला अलग-अलग है। उस मंदिर के अन्दर काली कसौटी के 14 खंभे हैं जिसके नीचे कलश है। कलश के ऊपर कमल है और कमल के ऊपर हनुमान जी गदा लेकर विराजमान हैं। मुझे बताइये, कौन सी मुस्लिम शिल्पकला में कलश, कमल या हनुमान जी का महत्व है, लेकिन उस मस्जिद के अन्दर वह 14 खंभे आज खड़े हैं, यह शिल्पकला का सबत है। मैं रेवेन्यु रेकार्ड का सबूत देना चाहती हूं। जब से माल की प्रक्रिया शुरू हुई है जब से हिन्दुस्तान में रेवेन्य रेकार्ड रखा जाने लगा है राम जन्म-भूमि को पहले मंदिर जन्म-स्थान लिखा जाता था। उसके बाद उसको मस्जिद जन्म-स्थान लिखा जाने लगा और आज भी उसको जन्म-स्थान मस्जिद लिखा जाता है। आप कितने सबूत चाहते हैं?... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी (महाराष्ट्र): मैडम,... (**व्यवधान**)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: आप बड़े हैं, मैं .... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी: मैं टोकता नहीं, आप क्यों डरते हैं। आप तो अभी मौला बन गए हैं। .... (**व्यवधान**)

एक माननीय सदस्य: आप बीच में खड़े होते हैं। ... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी: बीच में खड़े होने की गरज नहीं मैं तो यह पूछ रहा हूं कि यह कमल विमल शब्द आप बोलते हैं.... (**व्यवधान**) हमें भी सिया राम को आदर है, हमारे कोई दुश्मन नहीं हैं सिया राम, हम हिन्दू हैं, ब्राह्मण हैं, मैं यह पूछता हूं कि आप जो यह कहते हैं उसके लिए यह देश में बहुत इतिहासवेत्तों ने लिखा है वह सब पढ़ कर उसमें कोई निकलता नहीं है, वन एंड सैकंड... (व्यवधान) यह सैकुलर करैक्टर है, यह पोलिटीकलाइज़ मत करना, मैडम। .... (**व्यवधान**)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: मैं तो समझ रही थी कि बड़ी संज़ीदगी की बात हमारे बुजुर्गवार रखेंगे, लेकिन वही रटी-रटाई बात उन्होंने रखी है। मैं नहीं समझती हूं कि उसका कोई जवाब देने की जरूरत है। उपसभापति जी, मैं समाप्त करने पर हूं और मैं बहुत गंभीरता पर आई हूं, मुझे समाप्ति के लिए बेहद गंभीर वातावरण की जरूरत है, मैं आपका प्रोटैक्शन चाहती हूं। मैंने बहुत सी बातें आक्रोश में, आवेग में कही हैं, लेकिन इस बात को मैं बहुत गंभीर वातावरण में रखना चाहती हूं, अगर आप मुझे केवल पांच मिनट का समय दें।

उपसभापति: अब आपका समय, आपकी पार्टी का समय खत्म हो गया है।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: यह आप एक्स्ट्रा दे दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान) इसके लिए तो अफज़ल जी की भी हां करेंगे... (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभापति: मैं अफज़ल का टाइम काटकर दे सकती हूं।

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ मीम अफजल (उत्तर प्रदेश): मैं कैसे कह सकता हूं ....(**व्यवधान**) आप पूरे हाउस को मिसलीड कर रही हैं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: मैं सारे उन तथ्यों की बात कर रही हूं जो प्रामाणिकता के साथ बाकायदा साबित हो सकते हैं और अगर आपको कोई बात गलत लगती है तो आप उसका निराकरण कर सकते हैं उपाध्यक्षा महोदया, मैं केवल (**समय की घंटी**) एक बात कहती हूं, कल पाण्डेय जी ने कहा था कि श्री जे० पी० माथुर ने एक बार इंटरवीन करके कहा कि हमने मस्जिद तोड़ने की बात कभी नहीं कही, क्या आप इस बात को एलानिया कह सकते है? मैं कहती हूं कि इस को एलानिया क्या सदन के बाहर और सदन के अंदर हमने बीस बार एलान कर के कहा है कि हमने मस्जिद को तोड़ने की बात कभी नहीं कही, मस्जिद को स्थानांतरित करने की भी जो बात कही है, उपाध्यक्षा महोदया, शायद लोगों को पता नहीं... मैं बता रही हू, आप सुनिए... (**व्यवधान**)...

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ **मीम अफजल:** यह कैसे कर सकते हैं ?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Do you agree with the V.H.P.'s statement? Do you agree with Mr. Singhal's statement? It is on record. Madam, the General Secretary of the V.H.P., Mr. Singhal, has said in clear terms that they would ask the State Government to do it. Otherwise, he has said that they would demolish the Mosque. It is on record. You have got perfect understanding with the V.H.P. The B.J.P. has perfect understanding with the V.H.P. You say that you have no such intention. Why are you making an untrue statement in the House?

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: मेरी बात सुनिए। उपसभापति महोदया, मैं जो बात कह रही थी उसके लिए मैं फिर कह रही हूं कि मुझे थोड़ा गंभीर वातावरण दें। श्री अफजल अभी पूछ रहे थे कि स्थानांतरित कैसे करेंगे? यह स्थानांतरित करने का सुझाव भी सबसे पहले बी० जे०पी० की ओर से नहीं आया। जिस दल का सदस्य बनकर बैठा हो, उसी दल के सम्मानित सदस्य और इस देश के राष्ट्रपिता के पोते जो अपनी संजीदगी और विचारों के लिए विख्यात है, भाई राजमोहन गांधी जी का प्रस्ताव है। मेरा प्रस्ताव नहीं है। हमने इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार केवल इसलिए किया... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ **मीम अफजल:** अगर कोई मेंबर यह बात कहता है कि वह इस मस्जिद को शिफ्ट करना चाहते हैं, तो यह जरूरी नहीं है कि इस मुल्क के मुसलमान उस बात को मान लें। मैं आपकी तजवीज की कद्र कर सकता हूं, लेकिन जरूरी नहीं है कि उसे मान लूं। हमारे मजहब के अनुसार मस्जिद शिफ्ट नहीं हो सकती मैं आप से बड़े आदर के साथ यह कहना चाहता हूं।

श्री कैलाश नारायण सारंग (मध्य प्रदेश) : अरब में शिफ्ट हुई है, यह फैक्ट नहीं मालूम आपको?

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ **मीम अफजल:** अरब देशों में कत्ल करने पर गर्दन काट दी जाती है। आप किसी एक मसले पर तो अरब की मिसाल देते हैं और दूसरे मसले जो होते हैं तो कहते हैं कि अरबों के कानून बहुत खतरनाक है, बहुत खराब है, लेकिन जब आपको जरूरत होती है तो बड़ी खुशी से अरबों के कानून का हवाला देते हैं। (**समय की घंटी**)।

उपसभापति: आपकी पार्टी का टाइम खत्म हो गया, इसलिए सुषमा जी अब आप बैठ जाइए ...(**व्यवधान**)... बात तो हो जाती है, समय भी हो जाना चाहिए था।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: मैं अभी दो मिनट में कंक्लूड कर रही हूं।

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, either now, or at the end of Shrimati Sushma Swaraj's speech, I would like to have an opportunity to reply to her statement regarding me. Either

[Shri Raj Mohan Gandhi]

now, or, at the end of her speech. Whatever you decide.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you want to clarify, you do so now itself.

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI: Just one minute. It is entirely true, Madam Deputy Chairman, that in an article in the 'Hindustan Times', in May, 89, while discussing this question, I proposed, as a possible solution the relocation of the Mosque. I also said in that article that a precise solution was not what was important—the nature of the solution—but the will on both sides to agree and find a solution. I had also said, Madam Deputy Chairman, that if this was not acceptable to both the sides, any other solution acceptable to both the sides was what we all wanted. I would request the hon. Member and, indeed, both sides to the dispute, even now: if Shrimati Sushma Swaraj's party and the other side agree that, no matter what, with an open mind, they will come to the negotiating table and they will solve the problem, they should do so. If the Congress Government at the Centre and the B.J.P. Government in U.P. get the credit, we, on this side, will not object one bit. I only want that the suggestion made in my article, to which she referred. be understood in the spirit in which it was made. No wrong use should be made of it. Thank you.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मुझे खुशी है कि राज मोहन जी ने बीच में इंटरवीन कर के जो बात मैं कह रही थी उसको काटा नहीं। मैं उन की वाली बात नहीं आगे बढ़ाना चाहती हूं। उनका तर्क बहुत वजनदार इसलिए है कि वह जो साइट है, वह हिन्दुओं के लिए बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। वह जो इमारत है वह मुस्लिम भाईयों के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है। अगर उनका यह तर्क मुस्लिम भाई मान लेते हैं तो उनकी भी बात रह जाएगी, वह इमारत उन्हें मिल जाएगी और हमारी भी साइट रह जाएगी। मैं यह बात कहने जा रही थी।

अब मैं कनक्लूड करती हूं, इस बात को आगे न बढ़ाते हुए, कि मैं देश में आम सहमति के वातावरण की बात कर रही थी, जिसका एक सिरा पकड़ करके भाई राममोहन गांधी जी ने अपनी बात की है। मैं उसी को आगे बढ़ा रही हूं कि आज इस देश में आम-सहमति का वातावरण बनाने की जिम्मेदारी इस देश की सरकार के प्रधानमंत्री के ऊपर आयी है। मुझे खुशी है कि मेरी पार्टी के नेता, जो विपक्ष के नेता भी हैं, लालकृष्ण आडवाणी जी, ने बड़ी उदारता से उन्हें स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पूर्व की कांग्रेस के मूल्यों का संवाहक बताया। "स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पूर्व के संवाहक" शायद इससे बड़ा विशेषण विपक्ष का कोई नेता सरकार के मुखिया को दे नहीं सकता। मैं जानती हूं कि आज प्रधान मंत्री जी के कंधों पर दोहरी जिम्मेदारी है, राजीव की हत्या के बाद कांग्रेस बिखराव और टूटन की तरफ जा रही है, इसलिए एक तो अपने दल को एक करके चलाना और फिर विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों को साथ लेकर चलाना। इन दोनों जिम्मेदारियों का निर्वहन उनको करना है। लेकिन मैं अपनी ओर से, अपने दल की ओर से केवल एक आश्वासन देना चाहती हूं कि पिछले कुछ वर्षों में इस देश में प्रजातांत्रिक संस्थाओं को तोड़ने का काम हुआ, संसदीय परंपराओं के हनन का काम हुआ, अगर वह अपना इनीसिएटिव लेकर, आगे बढ़कर उन संसदीय मूल्यों के पुनर्स्थापन की तरफ कदम बढ़ाएंगे, उन संस्थाओं को दुबारा से बहाल करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे, अगर वह देश में एक आम सहमति का वातावरण तैयार करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो वह हमें कभी भी उसमें पीछे नहीं पाएंगे। विपक्षी बेंचों पर बैठे होने के बावजूद भी इस कार्य में उनका सहयोग हम देंगे क्योंकि हमारे लिए देश दल से बड़ा है और देश से बड़ा कुछ नहीं है।

इसी बात को कहते हुए मैं अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करती हूं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next speaker I have to make an announcement that at 6.00 p.m. today the Finance Minister will make a statement regarding the gold transaction.

Shri S. K. Sahu. I also must remind that the time we have got is quite limited. There is a great constraint of time and the time left for the Congress party is 1 hour and 17 minutes. I have with me listed 22 speakers.

श्री रजनी रंजन साहू (बिहार): मैडम, हमेशा से ही यही होता है कि टाइम को बाद अंतिम वक्ताओं पर ही लागू की जाती है, शुरू के वक्ताओं को पूरी छूट दी जाती है।

उपसभापति: हम कोई छूट नहीं देते हैं, वह खुद छूट ले लेते हैं और सुनते नहीं हैं। घंटी का अगर सब लोग ध्यान रखें तो आपके साथ यह जुल्म नहीं होगा आइंदा।....

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU (Orissa): Madam Deputy Chairman, I stand to support the Resolution moved by Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan for the vote of thanks to the President who has given his Address to the Joint Session of both the Houses of Parliament. Before coming to the points of the Address, I must say one thing. I was hearing a long speech made by the hon Member before me. I must say that I also salute Lord Rama and pay all my respects, but that great Lord Rama never brought disintegration to India because never any Lord, any great prophet or any part of God has created disintegration. It is the followers who create hatred and violence and we must be watchful against those elements. That is the what President has said in his speech that we should try to have a negotiated settlement of the Ram Mandir and the Babri Masjid. So, it is the befitting occasion that we must rise and unite at a time when our country is going through unparallelled economic and political crisis. We must unite to see that the country is safe and intregrity is maintained and violence is stopped.

The President has rightly remarked in his speech that the heinous assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is the worst in the history of the whole world. Madam, through you I want to inform the House and the Government that the previous Government appointed the Burma Commission. Now everyday fresh news of crime is appearing in newspapers. It is discussed in this House and outside. I do not want to go into its detail but yesterday a news came how in the past there was an attempt to have the bomb-blast in the Secretariat of the Tamil Nadu Government. Lives of many of the VIPs including the former Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu, were saved by providence. Again today it has come out in the newspapers that there are video films showing how Sivarasan was present in VIP meetings and how he managed to go to the front line in the VIP meetings. What I have to say today is that we must accept that we have failed in our intelligence to get all the information, whether it is in Tamil Nadu or elsewhere. What is the intelligence doing? The Government must streamline the intelligence system. Probably we have no information about security threats to the VIPs even here. I may say one more thing. The ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, told that the PLO Chief, Mr. Arafat, who is a great friend of India, informed him and Rajiv Gandhi that there was a plot to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi. So, I suspect an international conspiracy. Today there is a leakage in the news-papers by the LTTE, part by part, that they were responsible. It has come out three days back. It is a camouflage to cover up international links to destabilize our country and uproot the democracy here. It is not a question of who killed

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

Rajiv Gandhi and who was used as a human bomb. The question is, which are the forces that are trying to destabilize India, balkanize India by creating all sorts of disturbances. Therefore, Justice Verma Commission's term must be extended and there should be no hesitation about it. All parties will agree with me that a greater danger is looming large. One of the most valuable lives of the age and the century has been lost already, but many more lives may be in danger and so we have to take serious note of it and take adequate precautions. Therefore, there should be no delay in extending the term of Justice Verma Commission. It is not the question of only one person but it is a question of the entire country which must be looked into.

Coming to the other part, the President has rightly remarked about the cult of violence which must be fought in all seriousness. But I say, Madam, I am also a part of it. Have we not contributed, everybody, to the cult of violence? What is the responsibility of the political leader in the country today? People are disinterested. I am not speaking of any particular party. I am speaking as a Member of the House. As a citizen of this country, I owe responsibility to the country, I owe an explanation to the country. While I speak in the House today, we are distressed to hear that a Minister had beaten an IAS officer in Rajasthan. Then how responsibly would people behave? What sort of culture are we spreading? Anytime the political authorities will try to politicize the officials and it will create chaos. It has happened everywhere. So, let us analyze these things Until we go deeply into the root of the matter, the cult of violence will never end in this country.

Let us be fair and frank. There is no relevance of political parties in Jammu and Kashmir today. The mischief was done one and a half years back. Now, how can they be brought back into the mainstream of national life? Even the European Parliament, the law makers there, have expressed their anguish over the terrorism created in India by a neighbouring country and the heinous crime of killing so many people. Today also we do not know whether Mr. Doraiswamy will be released. It was a relief to see in the newspapers that he would be released today. So we have to make a deeper analysis of the national scenario and build up a new political life. Probably, it is not only the responsibility of the Government but it is also the responsibility of every political party and every leader to review the situation and see that more attention is paid and a new dialogue is started so that we can restore faith in the country and the cult of violence is put an end to everywhere.

Coming to other factors, we have too much politicization of everything, as a result of which there is hatred and anguish everywhere and everybody has been destroyed politically, as a result of which, probably, there is a political vaccum. It is not only in Punjab and Kashmir. Now, though popular elections have taken place in Assam, though much of the situation there has been controlled, I feel that kidnapping of the officers there by the extremists is not a happy augury. Unless we control this regionalism -- it is the responsibility of every political party—I think it will grow everywhere because it appears to be the reaction of frustrated and angry youth. Have we taken note of these questions in the Indian political scenario, the economic frustration and the frustration of the youth? There is no ideology. All these have created this holocaust which will continue in the country for a very long time.

I will limit my speech. The time-limit is very less. But I say that

these are the greatest dangers which are looming large over the Indian sky. In the interest of India let us all think that it is time that we must reconstruct India into a modern India. Almost forty-five years have passed from the time when the charisma of freedom-fighting was there. It is no more there. Let us have new values. I say as an ordinary Member that probably this type of a political system will never achieve the goal or progress ahead or march ahead, and the youth will keep on agitating.

Now, coming to the other question, we have heard the Finance Minister yesterday that the BOP, the balance of payments position is very difficult. But I question the wisdom of the Reserve Bank of devaluing the rupee in relation to yen or dollar or any other currency on 1st July and then on July 3 there was another decision, another dose of devaluation. At the same time 35 tonnes of gold has been sent to pledge at Bank in England. It shows the grave crisis we are facing. But why was it not done with consultation or discussion in the House. There is a basket of currencies in relation to which the purchasing power of the rupee was calculated. What was your calculation on July 1? Why was it changed on July 3? The Reserve Bank of India owes an explanation to the country.

Today, of course, a gold news has come that there will be a loan from the international market. Now, let me say that the Finance Minister must give a categorical assurance that the first thing to be done will be to return the gold pledged of the Bank of England because that will restore our credit-worthiness in the international market and raise their respect for us very high.

Many economists have commented about it that it was necessary, that there was no other alternative before the Government to see that the balance of payments is steady, to honour the international commitments. But hard decisions have to be followed. Rightly the President has said that it is time that hard decisions have to be taken rightly. Prof. Lakdavala has said that the devaluation would definitely help to increase exports and that the imports would be costly.

But the question is how we can minimise the non plan expenditure. Have we made any serious attempt about it? That must be explained to the people to create confidence and to convince that it was necessary for economic reasons.

Then, Prof. Patnaik of the JNU, a famous economist, has said a very nice thing, that the exports would increase only if the importing countries would accommodate.

So, these are various questions. But now what we see to day is that the ONGC is trying to reduce even the working group recommendation which has been prescribed for the annual plan. Now the petrol expenditure will go up to Rs. 2,000 crores due to the devaluation. How can we expect that the expenditure on the Government side will be kept to the minimum.

Then the question is realising the vulnerable situation prevailing in the country the separatist and terrorist tendencies in Jammu and Kashmir and the border areas whether we can ever think of reducing the defence expenditure. That is one of the major expenditures of the state. So, it is very necessary that we have to take hard decisions. If neecssary by consensus you must cut the expenditure severely so that we can really get the benefit of the devaluation. It is necessary to cut down the expenditure. We may have less import of petroleum. We can even restrict the movement of vehicles to some days in a week wherever there is no urgency. There must be an appeal to all the people. Until we take such drastic measures, it is very difficult for us to tide over the economic crisis that we are facing today. Now,

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

I would like to associate myself with the hon. Members who have complimented those who have brought prosperity to the country. The agricultural production has been steady for the past so many years and the Green Revolution has brought a new economic benefits to this country. It gave employment to the majority of the Indians. Let us not touch subsidy that is being given to these agriculturists on fertilisers, seeds and other things. We have seen in the last two years how half-way measures have destroyed the grassroots of their co-operative organisation—by political decision of last Government. Let us not destroy the backbone of the agriculturists If we do that the Indian economy itself will be hit hard.

For the last 15 months or two years there has been a galloping inflation. Price of every item has gone up at least by 20 to 50 per cent. If we don't take severe measures, it will be very difficult for us to bring our economy back on its rails. We must also be conscious about the role of the multinational corporations. Apart from other countries even the developing countries like Korea have put retrictions on their role in some categories. These multinational companies have money, capital and media at their disposal and their increased activity will adversely affect the small entrepreneur. We have to ensure that the interest of entrepreneur of the land are not jeopardised.

In this country we have got diverse cultures and languages. So, we must agree on minimum economic and political programmes. If we do that we will solve many of the country's problems. We should go by consensus and not fight that this party has got more percentage of votes than that party. Let us not follow the culture of disharmony and violence. By following the culture of harmony and understanding we will be able to become strong enough to tell the neighbouring country which is training separatists and terrorists that it must stop such acts, otherwise India is in a position to take strong action and give a befitting reply.

The other most important point is that we must save our youths from taking to drugs and narcotics. It is this which has created problem on our border. Unless you take strong action against this, you will not be able to free the country from separatists and terrorists. Those dealing in it will not leave it easily because it gives easy money to them I remember how the opium war waged by the Japanese against the Chinese affected them. If we have to learn from the history, we have to learn what havoc the opium war had brought on China in the past. We have also to ensure social justice to the backward classes and the poor, but I would appeal not to divide the country on caste and communal lines. I would appeal to all the hon. Members to think how best we can give economic justice to different communities and the backward people by evolving a consensus at the earliest. I would appeal to the followers of Lord Rama, who was the great integrator of this country, not take such steps which may disintegrate the country in his name. Let us try to have a new thinking. That is the way of democracy If we follow the democratic methods, everything must be discussed. In democracy everything must be discussed and there should be consensus on all the issues. That is the will of the people That should be done. We must see that a glorious India survives again in the future and becomes the leader of the whole world. That is the feeling of every man. Many countries have failed in leading the world. The capitalist world will also crumble. We have to plan our human resources properly. They must be utilised for productive purpose With a strong commitment, with a strong will power we can salvage the issue.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, the present President has had the distinction—I may call it good fortune or misfortune--of presenting to the parliament the addresses prepared by three different Governments in a matter of nineteen months. I think this will not recur because only day before yesterday when the vote of confidence was carried in the Lok Sabha, we got an inkling that nobody is prepared to face another election at least for sometime to come.

The President has rightly stated "21st May, 1991 was a nightmare." Yes, it was a nightmare. May I tell the House what happened in the city of Madras and other places in Tamil Nadu following the nightmare? Violence was let loose. There was arson. There were murders. Eight people belonging to the DMK party were killed. *The Hindu* in its editorial had put it. "The entire violence was very specific, goal-oriented." The target was the election offices. The election offices of the National Front and the Left Front were destroyed. Their election materials were destroyed. Their houses, their work places were also destroyed. It continued for three days without any interruption. There was no response from the police. Worse than this, *Theekadhir* the official organ of the Marxists party was ransacked. *Murasoli* the official organ of the DMK party was also ransacked. It was totally destroyed. It was set on fire. Even the fire engines were not allowed to reach these offices because they were prevented by the mob. On an inquiry we found all the police people were asked not to take any action for those three days. It has really surprised us. For the first time the people of Tamil Nadu saw the law and order really broken down. Violence also took place in Andhra Pradesh. I do not know why they have selected the two States in South India. Interestingly the then Chief Secretary called for an all-party meeting. In that meeting, the then Home Secretary, Secretary (Public) also participated. In that meeting all the parties unanimously resolved that there should be a Commission of Inquiry to go into the violence and adequate compensation should be paid.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, may I correct the hon. Member?

The AIADMK did not say that there should be a Commission of Inquiry.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Your member also participated and there is a signature.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It was told by the Chief Secretary that...

SHRI T. R. BALU (Tamil Nadu): There was a concurrence on this from your party also.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am so sorry. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): There is no place for them in Tamil Nadu Assembly. So they want to make use of this august body for such things (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam,... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. You can speak when your change comes. I think your name is written here.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I want to put the record straight. (*Interruptions*). All the members participated. Our party also participated. Signatures were got as participants. And when the matter was discussed, the Chief Secretary went and announced that the commission of inquiry should be there. And concurrence of these members was not there. (*Interruption*). Our members have not signed on any paper.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I stand corected Let his version go on record, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When ever a Tamil Nadu M.P. speaks,

[The Deputy Chairman]

unfortunately, he gets interrupted. I request that he should be allowed to to speak as a Member.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, I am speaking as a Member.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has a right to speak. If there is any correction, he says he stands corrected.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: He should not make any insinuation.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I have not made any insinuation so far. But people can come to conclusions of their own. I need not make any insinuation. Madam, the commission of inquiry did not see the light of day. Even I represented to the Governor. I pleaded with him.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The matter was lying in court.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am talking about things before the matter went to court. In Andhra Pradesh, they did not go to Court. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh immediately announced an inquiry commission to go into these matters. Such things never happened in Tamil Nadu. That is why I am quoting this.

Madam, here is a Governor in whose regime the greatest leader of India was assassinated. He was not given enough protection. There was security lapse. These are the things which we are discussing. But who should take the responsibility? In all humility, I would say, the Governor should take the responsibility and he should have resigned his job. But he did not do it. I am very sorry. Not only that: Only recently some police officials were taken to task by the present Government. But the Governor did not even bother to have a look at it. Madam, had sufficient steps been taken, the so-called Sivarasan, accused No. 1 or suspect No. 1, could have been caught. But, he got away. It was made possible by the first-rate bungling by the State police authorities and the Governor's administration under President's rule which failed to issue appropriate instructions in time. No attempt was made to corden off the killing field or to look for the surviving members of the asassination squad and suspicious characters at the spot or in the vicinity. No immediate red-alert was sounded to hound down the criminals. Madam, these are all very basic fundamental things. Not even a single step was taken. The Governor is sitting very pretty there in the Raj Bhavan which is about 1000 acres, which is the biggest in the country. But, at the same time, the SIT and other teams are searching for Sivarasan and others. Even the day before yesterday—I think yesterday—the hon. Home Minister said that the LTTE might have had a hand in this assassination. In that case, I want to make one thing very clear because some people—since they are badly advised or as a cunning design—are spreading a canard. What is this LTTE? How did they come about? They did not come to India suddenly from the air. They were not parachuted. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: You brought them. (*Interruptions*).

5.00 P.M.

You are the sole cause. You want to sell this country. (*Interruptions*) You not only protected them but you are responsible for all this. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot match anyone of them. Please take your seat, Mr. Swaminathan

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, D. M. K. Government was there. Now they are talking about the Governor's role and the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Let us us go back to 1983. At that time, because of the oppression of the Tamils by the Sinhalese, several militants were brought here and the Central Government gave them training at 31 places in Tamil Nadu and one of the groups was LTTE. There are several groups. They received training in 31 camps. They received arms,

they received ammunitions and they received financial help also. They are our own creation. I am taking the blame on myself also. I am not accusing anybody. It is a history. How can we erase history? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: You are the only party who misused them. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He should be allowed to make his speech. Interruptions is not correct. It is not fair.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, I am not approaching the problem in a partisan way. I am tisan way. I am narrating some historical facts which nobody can hide, which everybody knows. After that, you know the RAW. It has been dealing with several other countries. I do not know whether they have been dealing with them nicely. But so far as Sri Lanka is concerned, it is my opinion. they have failed miserably. They gave wrong advice to three Prime Ministers—I would say including V. P. Singh also—because I know all this. I was one of the representatives of DMK and I was dealing with all the four Prime Ministers regarding the Sri Lankan issue. Because of the misunderstanding, they fell out. At that time, late lamanted Shri Rajiv Gandhi asked our leader to create a rapport between our country and the LTTE. Madam, in that regard, he had written a letter to me. I am sorry I did not bring it. So such was the intention. Not only that he used to appreciate certain facts of Mr. Prabhakaran. On 5th March even after the dismissal of the DMK Government, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had met some of the representative of the LTTE. Again on 15th March he had met another representative of the Madam, he is making wrong allegawere true, I shudder to think that they had done this. And if they had done this, then I would say it is a worst betrayal. They are not only criminals, but they are the worst betravals. Madam, you know that we, the Tamilians, are very sentimental. We could not believe how could these fellows—they were brought up by Mrs. Gandhi, they were brought up by Mr. Gandhi, they were given training by them, they were given arms by them later to be hailed as the biggest heroes or militants or whatever it is! It was because by Mrs. Gandhi ...

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: Madam, it is making wrong allegations...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ramachandran, your name is listed before me. I assure you that when you speak, I will see nobody bothers you. So please let him make his point.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: It was because of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They all know it, the Jaffna people know about it and more than anybody else, the Tamil Nadu people know about it. Even in Sriperumbudur there was a camp...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I am on a point of information.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Point of Order?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: No, I am on a point of information.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; no point of information. Let him speak. No point of information. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam he says Rajiv Gandhi gave assistance for the training which is particular untrue ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Yes, training was given to them. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, he may not be aware of it. Let him consult somebody. I am sorry he is not aware of it... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI T. R. BALU: Please consult the leaders when you come to the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I am on a point of order ... (*Interruptions*) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. He is on a point of order.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Madam, when the speaker does not yield his ground, unless the other Member rises on a point of order, whatever he says cannot be allowed to go on record. So what Mr. Narayanasamy said should not be allowed to go on record. This House cannot be allowed to be hijacked like this. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue his speech ... (*Interruptions*) ... There is nothing like point of information or clarification... (*Interruptions*) ... Let us keep quite and let him speak...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, he should not speak in the House like this.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Madam, I want to say something.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, I am not allowing you. I am not allowing you. Let me first permit you. Please sit down. Take your seat. Let him finish... (*Interruptions*) ... You don't understand what I say. Please sit down, Mr. Jadhav.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Madam, I am concerned with...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not allowing you. I would remind the Members that I have got a lot of names of Members belonging to different parties and I request if you feel that any Member is making any allegations or wrong statements in your opinion, you are most welcome to correct them when you speak. But if you keep on interrupting like this. I think most of the Members are not going to get a chance to speak and neither would your views be recorded by the people here nor by the press. So it is my humble request that every Member should make his point first and you can counter it if you like. If he makes a wrong point please counter it when you speak, if you feel so. Because of this noise nothing can be heard or can be recorded. This is my suggestion. If you agree to it, fine.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, as Tamils we hang our heads in shame. Recently a newspaper has published an item saying...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One more thing. If you are making any allegations, you should be prepared to substantiate them. Mr. Maran, can you substantiate your allegations?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Yes, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN When you make an allegation on someone who is no more in this world, you have to substantiate it. Until and unless you substantiate it, I will not permit you because Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is no more here to come and say that he said, he did or he did not do it. So, please substantiate everything which you are saying. (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I will substantiate Madam. I am telling a fact. (*Interruptions*) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Enough, enough. Please sit down. (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am only revealing what has already been revealed. There are several things. (*Interruptions*) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I say, please sit down. (*Interruptions*) ...It is enough. (*Interruptions*) ... I say that if he is not substantiating he will be responsible for that. (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Madam, you should not allow him. He is making allegations.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am not making allegations at all. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Just formulating stories and presenting it in the House is not true at all. I request, Madam, not to allow false stories to be fabricated and presented in the House. (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: What he is trying to say? (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: These are fabricated stories. (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him speak.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Madam, recently a newspaper report has appeared—and this morning Mr. Upendra also raised it as a question to the Home Minister—that Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE, himself ordered for this assassination. Madam, this is really most shocking. In that case, it occurred to my mind, in Panama when the dictator of Panama, Noreiga, was charged with international drug trafficking, President Bush intervened by sending his troops and captured and brought him to Miami and put him in jail to stand trial. I would say, of this is true, and if Prabhakaran and others who are *persona non grata* send our Army to Jaffna, arrest him, bring him and make a public trial and make a public hanging if what he did was true. Therefore, if somebody thinks that anyone of us will be happy at this massacre, he is wrong. No democratic party functioning in India can support this brutal massacre. (*Interruptions by Shri V. Narayanasamy*).

SHRI T. R. BALU: Madam, he is insinuating. He cannot keep quite. He should respect our sentiments. (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: trial. I would say, if this is true, Please (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: He cannot raise himself above his level, Madam. I am very sorry. That is his level. (*Interruptions*)...Now let us come to the post-assassination scenario. Really it has made a mark on the composition of the Lok Sabha. The Congress Party went to the people on the stability card but it seems that the people have rejected it. Now, I want to read from the *Hindu*:

> "If the Congress(I) has done well in certain pockets of north, especially in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, it was because of the national tragedy that occurred on May 21st. Everywhere else it is the sympathy factor that fetched the Congress(I) the parliamentary seats which it had otherwise little hope of winning. This happened on a large scale in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Kerala."

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I have strong objection to this, madam. (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt. (*Interruptions*)...Please don't interrupt. (*Interruptions*)I am not permitting you. Every point you object. I am not allowing you. (*Interruptions*)... Please sit down. (*Interruptions*)... Please take your seat. I am not allowing. (*Interruptions*)...You also go back to your seat. (*Interruptions*) ...Pleaase go back. (*Interruptions*) Please sit down Please take your seats.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: What the newspapers and prephologists say is after the assassination because of sympathy the Congress-I secured more seats. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seats. Everybody should sit down when I am standing. I want to say that I am sure what he is speaking, somebody would not like and what somebody is speaking, he would not like. But you cannot go on interrupting like this. I am repeating it, please don't make this a battle-ground. If you interrupt every word of his, then none of you will be able to speak. I am sure he his not going to speak what you like. He speaks for himself, not for you. Let him speak whatever he wants. Let us behave in a democratic fashion. So, please don't interrupt any more.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am just quoting the opinion of the newspapermen that after the assassination the sympathy vote has increased the seats of the Congress-I. This is what they say; I don't say. Then, you know the *Economic and Political Weekly*... (*Interruptions*) I am not talking about Tamil Nadu...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I am not allowing you. Nothing will go on record of what he says.

SHRI M. VINCENT (Tamil Nadu):*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I am not permitting you. Nothing of it will go on record.

SHRI M. VINCENT:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are defying the Chair.

SHRI M. VINCENT:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I assure you, you are defying the Chair. This is not the way to behave. What is being proved in the Assembly, it is proved. Whatever is being proved in Parliament, it is proved. You don't have to keep on talking about it. (*Interruptions*) When your turn comes, you can speak what you want to. Now I don't want to listen to your talks. (*Interruptions*) If anyone interrupts, I am going to deduct that time from his or his party's time.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your party's time is going to cut. (*Interruptions*) I am repeating it. If anybody interrupts the speech, I am definitely going to cut the time from their party. I will do that. This is the only punishment which is going to work and I am going to implement it.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am quoting from the *Economic and Political Weekly* which is a respected weekly.

> "But for Rajiv Gandhi's assassination midway through the elections the Congress-I would have ended up with some sixty seats fewer than it has now secured or some thirty odd seats below even its dismal 1989 tally."

Here is another report of *Frontline*. They have made a summary.

> "Had there been no assassination of Rajiv Gandhi...The National Front—Left combine would be ahead of the Congress(I)..."

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VINCENT:*

SHRI T. R. BALU:*

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:*

...[**The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bhaskar Annaji Masodkar)** in the Chair].

SHRI M. VINCENT: Sir, I have a point of order... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR):

*Not recorded.

Mr. Vincent, please sit down. I will not allow you. Please sit down... (*Interruptions*)...Yes, Mr. Maran, you may continue.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, we all know that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was against the Mandal Commission Report. In fact in the Lok Sabha, he spoke for three hours... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, it is because of this only I said that he was giving misleading facts... (*Interruptions*)...Is what he says a fact?... (*Interruptions*)...Mr. Maran, don't misguide the House. The Congress party was never against the Mandal Commission ..(*Interruptions*).

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, in their manifesto there is no mention about the Mandal Commission at all. But, suddenly a few days back we were very happy—the present Social Welfare Minister, Shri Sitaram Kesri, was reported to have told his people that implementation of the Mandal Commission report was to be taken up immediately. I quote from the report, "...he had also directed his officials to engage the best legal brains to plead on behalf of the Government in the Supreme Court." Sir, we were supremely happy on hearing this. But, suddenly, something happened. It came as a bolt from the blue. Probably he was summoned by the Prime Minister and was given a dressing down. I do not know as to what happened in the meeting. They have decided to jettison the Mandal Commission Report. But, we know the Congress lexicon. They will not say that they have dropped it. They will put it in a very circumlocutary way. I am told that there is a suggestion that figured prominently. The suggestion was that those who pay income tax or own land holdings should not be entitled to any reservation. This is the end of the Mandal Commission Report. They have been keeping it for ten years in the almirah and now they have given a decent burial. As long as this Government is here, it may not come up and see the light of the day at all. That is why Mr. Upendra raised it in the morning. Yesterday, the Prime Minister said that he was for a consensus. But here is a matter which affects the lives of several crores of people of the backward classes and yet there seems to be no consensus at all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, most of his time was consumed by interruptions for more than twenty minutes. Kindly be liberal. Actually, he has spoken only for ten minutes and our party's time is more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): That is why I am not very strict about it. But I am just reminding him.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir it seems that they want this Report to continue to gather dust. Sir, you are a Judge and you know that poverty alone cannot be the factor for deciding backwardness. Many Courts have held like that. For example, in the case of any applicant, whose income you want to know? Definitely not the income of the applicant because he will be preparing for it only as a student. Naturally, it means the income of the parents and parents means father or mother. But we have seen in the years before that this was greatly misused. You can buy such a kind of certificate in any village. Only those who are in Government posts like teachers and whose income is very well known in that area cannot get false certificates. Moreover, a fellow will get entitlement and will become a gazetted officer. The moment he becomes a

[Shri Murasoli Moran]

gazetted officer, his son becomes a forward class man because he is the son of a gazetted officer. So, the son cannot enter public employment. Here one member of a family will become backward and another will become forward This is a very absurd situation. In Kerala, in 1971, there was one Backward Classes Reservations Commission and that Commission declared that backward classes are those families whose aggregate annual income was less than eight thousand rupees. They had given that as eight thousand rupees. It went on to say, by way of example, that in the case of Section Officers, the feeder cadre for the post of Under Secretary, this income limit would not do because there we needed more backward class people. That is why they raised the ceiling from eight thousand rupees to nine thousand rupees. From Under Secretary to Deputy Secretary, we need more backward class people. There also we need more backward class people. So, the Commission suggested that the cut-off limit should be raised to thirteen thousand. Then again, from Deputy Secretary to Joint Secretary level, it suggested, first, fifteen thousand rupees and then, finally, seventeen thousand rupees. This is what is called in the legal language a very absurd situation in the sense that for every job level you have to take certain income and the income certificates can be traded just like the REP licence; they can be bought and sold. Why are you bringing in this? This is what I want to ask the Prime Minister. He is not here now. Why don't they approve the Mandal Report? Out of eleven criteria in the Mandal Report, four are financial criteria, the income criteria. There is no reason why they should ignore this That is why when Pt. Nehru was discussing this in the Constituent Assembly, Prof. K. T. Shah moved an amendment. Had it been accepted, perhaps things would have been different. He wanted to add 'economically'. Pt. Nehru said, "No, 'socially' here is a much wider word, including many things, and certainly including 'economically,". He said "socially' includes "economically" also. That is what Pt. Nehru said. But today you are not in a position to accept that you are going to reject what Pt. Nehru said And at the same time there is a need that we should implement the Mandal Commission Report as early as possible.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR) Anything remaining?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am just concluding.

When Dr. Ambedkar was present in the Assembly, one Member asked, "what is the meaning of 'backward community'?". Immediately Dr. Ambedkar replied, "We have left it to be determined by each local Government, that is, the State Government. The backward community is a community which is backward in the opinion of the State Government" Sir, it holds good even now. At that time Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari intervened and said that this clause would be a paradise for lawyers. Whether it is a paradise for lawyers or not, it has become a paradise for politicians. So here is the test. Why should we go into all these kinds of problems? You send it back to the State Governments. You approve of their lists. That means that the onus is on them. Instead, as the newspaper report goes, the case in the Supreme Court is going to be withdrawn. The Judges have given their opinion Sir one Judge, Justice Kuldip Singh says that if the Government is not accepting the report in toto, then what is the use of.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): This whole matter is sub judice. You cannot quote...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: This is what the Judges said in the open court.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): It is all right. But you cannot refer to sub judice matters. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Chairman has permitted...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He can himself take care of it. So please stick to the subject and finish it off.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Therefore, we would like to know the fate of the Mandal Commission. Has it been buried or is it going to be buried? Have you got any alternative? if so, what is that?

Then, Sir, I come to the IMF loans and devaluation. Sir, I won't go into it. I would just like to quote what Prof. Galbraith who was here a few days back, said:

> "The IMF recipe can only hit the poor. I have never been a supporter of the IMF interventions with the affairs of countries. I have never approved of the lines of intervention. If you are poor and you hear that I am talking about austerity you should know what it is likely to mean to you."

That means, it is very clear, We have to pay more by way of duties and the prices we raise. Not only that, there will be large-scale unemployment And in fact, all the workforce and labourers are panicky. A few days back they met the Minister of State for Labour Shri Ramemurthi and wanted some kind of assurance that sick mills would not be closed. But he was not in a position to do so. They went to the Finance Minister. And according to newspaper reports, he said that he was not taken into confidence and he said that he would see this after the Budget. So, 1,33,000 factories are sick. Sir, this is the situation. This had exactly happened 25 years ago in 1966. At that time, there was Mr. Sachin Chowdhry, a professional as Finance Minister. This time also we are having another professional. Sir, after 1966, we know how things moved fast downhill. The economy collapsed. There was a volcano among the poorer sections. The same thing is going to happen now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I think, now I must request you to accommodate other Members.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: M. time is there, Sir. That is why..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): According to my schedule, your time has already lapsed. I have taken into account the interruptions also.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, when Sachin Chowdhury was there, he was saying the same thing: 'There is no alternative; tighten your belt;' tighten your belt. Now, after 25 years, the new professional economist, the Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh is also saying, 'tighten your belt'. Tighten whose belts, Sir? The poor man's belt, not the top 15 per cent of the population. Therefore, Sir, I am worried There will be an immediate closure of a large part of the Indian industry There will be increase in unemployed population And those who will be happy are the 100 million of the 845 million. And the terms of trade will be against us. We have to export more to import less. And it will create social tensions. It may tear the country apart. It happened in 1966. I am sorry, it is going to happen now also.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan): Sir, I rise in support of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by hon Jayanthi Nataraian.

Sir, during the short period that the Government has assumed power, measures of far reaching consequences have been taken. I offer a few comments.

[Shri Krishna Kumar Sahu]

Firstly, Sir, on foreign exchange crisis. One step that could immediately help us to meet the foreign exchange crisis or at least help us to some extent, because this is really a very serious crisis, is in persuading the NRIs to bring gold to this country and sell the gold to the Reserve Bank of India. This measure will yield immediate results. The Government could charge a small duty for the gold that is brought into the country. The gold will have to be sold in the Indian currency at the current market rate prevailing in India. The result of this would be that the gold reserves of the Reserve Bank of India would get augmented. Gold after all means foreign exchange. And it also means that we shall be importing gold by paying nor in foreign exchange nor in rupees. The question, Sir, is: What is the inducement for the NRIs? The inducement is the price of gold in this country is very high compared to the world parity. that itself should be a good inducement. Sir, there will be two more advantages as a result of that. Firstly, the clandestine outflow of the foreign exchange will be very much reduced. That apart, it will also apply a brake as far as the Hawala transactions are concerned.

Sir, to improve exports, massive adjustment in the rupee value has been made by the Government of India It is as good as devaluation. Besides drastic changes have been announced by the Commerce Ministry in respect of the foreign trade policy such as suspension of CCS, uniform rate for REP licences which they now call Exim scrips. The intention Sir, is that imports as far as possible should be with the help of Exim scrips. This is a step in the right direction Many countries in the world including our neighbour Pakistan are following such economic practices. It will be good in my opinion in case India also joins the world mainstream in respect of its economic planning.

Some industries may be hit as a result of these steps. For example, those export industries where the import content is very high are likely to be hit. Likewise those companies which export to rupee payment countries, in their case the withdrawal of CCS will hit them. I hope the hon. Commerce Minister will take note of it and will attend to their problems.

Sir, devaluation leads to trimming of imports and boost to exports. This is an axiom of economics. But side by side I would also sound a note of caution and that is for this reason—many countries are following permit system. Sir, in today's world political considerations also count and most of the developed countries have got their own economic groups. Thus, EEC patronises African countries, likewise USA patronises Taiwan, South Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Latin America etc. Japan is keen to develop its relationship with East Asian countries and also with China. So, Sir the point I want to emphasis is that mere devaluation does not necessarily mean more exports unless the Government is vigilant and unless steps are taken in political direction also Political efforts will have to be made.

Sir, a word regarding imports. Oil is our biggest import item and this is a drain on foreign exchange. The oil poduction, unfortunately, for the last few years has been stagnant. What therefore, we have to do is to increase oil production. This is very essential and this should be given top priority. We should also give incentives for oil exploration—exploration of new oil fields More incentives will have to be granted for that.

While talking about oil I should also mention about one particular point. That is a material called shale. It is a kind of formation of rock Oil India has submitted a report which says that it is possible to extract oil from this shale rock. Their discovery

is something fantastic. They say that North East India has some areas with shale foundation and that 10 billion tonnes of oil is recoverable from this shale rock formation. It is almost a hundred times more compared to the existing proven oil reserves. Sir, I would like to mention that USSR is already producing about 30 million tonnes of shale oil. Thus is production of shale oil is not something new. This is something which has been tested All the same, I would say that at this stage we should not go recklessly about it. We should certainly go in for shale oil but for a pilot plant and see what are the advantages and disadvantages and what are the problems that are connected with it.

Sir on devaluation I have already said something. But let me also mention about a few pitfalls. Firstly, as far as our external debt is concerned —this will increase from Rs. 131000 crores to Rs 162000 crores. And as a proportion of the national income, external debt will rise from 38 per cent to 47 per cent. This would mean that Herculean efforts will have to be made by the Government of India and by the business community to reduce this debt. It is going to be a challenge both to the Government and to the business community and I would say they have got to jointly resolve this problem.

Devaluation may also lead to increase in costs and that is the reason why in a number of industries components have to be imported the cost may increase and this may lead to inflation.

In spite of these problems, I would say devaluation of the rupee is a step in the right direction. It is a bitter pill but we have to swallow it for a better tomorrow.

I just said devaluation leads to increase in costs owing to increased cost of imports. I would, therefore, plead that in the forthcoming Budget, import duties should be reduced particularly on the capital goods.

The last point which we have to bear in mind is, that a massive devaluation took place for the first time in September 1949 when the rupee was devalued to the extent of 30.5 per cent. After that, in June 1966, rupee was again devalued by 36.5 per cent. These provided only a temporary relief, the reason was that after some time we lost our competitive edge. That was due to the fact that firstly we could not keep up in productivity with the rest of the world and secondly we could not contain our inflation. I thought I should mention it for the reason that this time too, in case we do not keep pace with other countries in productivity and in case we cannot contain inflation to 5 or 6 per cent, we would not be able to draw the real benefit of devaluation and our economy will not improve and we will always be faced with the problem of uncompetitiveness of the rupee.

As I mentioned, politics plays a very important role in respect of our foreign trade. Our relations with USA are good but I would submit that we should make efforts to further improve them. As far as Pakistan is concerned which is our immediate neighbour, we should make efforts to come to some sort of a settlement with them on the basis of Simla Agreement. As for China after the visit of late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to Beijing in 1988, things have very much improved but we will have to make further efforts in that direction to bring about complete normalisation of relations with China.

Thank you.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagen] Saikia) in the Chair]

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): The President's Address started with a note on the

[Shri Mentay Padmanabham]

heinous assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on 21st May. This ghastly assassination was a shock to the entire nation. But the 21st night and the next day, the 22nd, was a horror in many places in Andhra Pradesh. Madras is very near and accessible by different modes of communication to most of the coastal towns of Andhra Pradesh. Within two hours, the news spread and in most important towns like Vijayawada, Eluru, Hyderabad and Ongole and other places, anti-social elements with the active connivance of Congress-I workers took advantage of the situation and created disturbances. That was the day after the first phase of the elections. The first phase of election took place on 20th and the next phase was scheduled to take place on 26th. The Election Commission did not intervene and it was not known at that time that the elections would be postponed by another 15 days or so. The violence and vandalism that took place were mostly in those places were the elections were scheduled to take place on 26th. What were the targets for the anti-social elements? As you know, the electioneering was in full swing for the second phase of the elections. They destroyed and damaged the properties belonging to the non-Congress (I) parties, even the buntings, election offices and so on. They did not allow, the flags and banners of the non-Congress parties were targets. Why did they devastate them? It was a systematic attempt to destroy the houses, the personal properties and business establishments of those belonging to non-Congress (I). Even parties the nursing homes run by the sympathisers of the CPI, CPI(M) and Janata Dal were not spared. The patients and inmates had to flee and take shelter on the roadside and nearby houses. Why have they done it? What was the reason behind it? As I said earlier, the violence was markedly higher in those areas where the elections were scheduled to take place on 26th. In order to create a sort of fear psychosis among the non-Congress (I) workers and in order to demoralise them. So, the Congress workers joined hands with goondas and other anti-social elements and indulged in this kind of violence. This was discussed earlier also in this House. We brought this to the notice of the State Government. Then, Shri N. T. Rama Rao went on a hunger strike. Ultimately, the State Government agreed to three demands. The demands of the non-Congress (I) parties were Firstly, a Commission headed by a judge of the Supreme Court should be appointed to investigate the violence that took place after the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The second demand was that compensation should be paid to the victims who had lost their properties, business establishments, etc. The third demand was that the persons found guilty should be punished immediately, as per the law. The State Government agreed to the conditions, agreed to the demands. But till now, no action has been taken on any of these demands. The people who have played a leading role in perpetrating these violent acts have not even been arrested. Some of them are Members of the Legislature. They are very influential people in Andhra Congress politics. They have not yet been arrested. They have not yet been apprehended. They have not even been booked.

In regard to the second condition, no systematic evaluation has, so far, been made to assess the damage. This is still going on at the current stage. In regard to the first condition, namely, setting up of a Commission headed by a Supreme Court Judge to go into the violence the Chief Minister was reported in the newspapers as having said that no Supreme Court Judge agreed to head such a commission and that therefore, they were trying to find a High Court Judge. The point is, the Commission has, so far, not been appoin-

ted. Considering the damage caused, considering the suffering the people had gone through, I would appeal to the Central Government, the new Government here, to persuade a Judge from the Supreme Court, or, an appropriate legal luminary, to head the Commission. So far, they have not done anything in this regard. They have not rehabilitated the affected people. The State Government has not even come forward to rehabilitate those who have lost their property, the people who owned *kill baddies*, small shops and business establishments.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Studio?

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Studio is all right. It is intact. This is the abominable way in which the State Government is functioning there.

Sir, many colleagues have spoken on various subjects. The issue which is uppermost in the minds of the people is the price situation in the country. I would like to remind the Government that the Congress manifesto clearly said that the Party would, within hundred days of its coming to power, roll back the prices to the 1989 level. Normally, I would not have referred to the manifesto of the Congress Party because, as far as the Congress Party is concerned, it is only a ritual. They never bother about their manifestos. In every election, they come out with a manifesto. Immediately after the elections, they conveniently forget about it. This is the tradition of the Congress Party which we have been witnessing.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): The promises made in the earlier manifesto were all fulfilled by the Government headed by the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Now, there is the new manifesto. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: What about the National Front's manifesto? (Interruptions).

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: I am coming to that. (*Interruptions*) Sir, as I said, I would not have, normally, referred to the Congress Party's manifesto at all. But I did so for the simple reason that the present Prime Minister is the architect of this manifesto. This is what was reported in the newspapers. I do not know. Let the Prime Minister or anybody from the Government deny it.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: The Prime Minister will fulfil it.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: It was reported in the newspapers that he was the brain behind it, that he played a very crucial role in drafting the manifesto.

6.00 P. M.

SHRI V. NARAYANASWAMY. Because he is from Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM I know. I have great respect for the present Prime Minister. He is a very upright and a gentlemanly individual. I have no quarrel with him. My quarrel is only with the Congress Party as such for the implementation of the promises made to the people in their manifesto. That is all.

Sir, in the manifesto they have said that they will bring down prices within 100 days. They have not done it. Immediately after assuming the charge the Finance Minister has said, it is on record, that the prices cannot be brought down like that. He has no magic wand to bring down the prices in such a way. There was some controversy over this statement from the Congress(I). This all appeared in the press.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Will there be statement of the Finance Minister at six?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): He is stuck up in the Lok Sabha. He will come and make the statement here.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: The information is that the Finance Minister is coming here to make the statement, but he is already making the statement in Lok Sabha. You can expect him at any moment.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Then what is the meaning of 6 o'clock?

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: This para 13 of the President's Address says, "Of particular concern is the rise in prices of essential commodities which hurts the weaker sections the most. Government attaches the highest priority to reducing inflation and will adopt necessary measures towards this end." Interest of the weaker sections, it is all there. Then it speaks of the measures to restrain growth in money supply, economies in Government expenditure, encouragement to small sectors, etc. which will receive priority. But, Sir, these are all long-term measures. Anybody who is aquainted with the economics with fiscal policies, knows that these measures of economies in Government expedinture, restraining the growth in money supply, these are all long-term fiscal measures. They will yield results at a future date. How can they bring down prices within 100 days I cannot understand. Sir, why are we in such a situation as this? Everybody knows, the Government itself has admitted, day in and day out they have been telling that the entire economy is in a mess, we are on the verge of bankruptcy and all that. Who is responsible for this? According to this document itself one of the chief reasons for the rise in prices is deficit financing. Who was responsible for the deficit financing? If you just go through the deficits in the Central budgets during 1980 to 1990, you will come to know who is actually responsible for the situation in which we are now. Sir, the total deficit financing in the year 1980-81 is Rs. 2577 crores. In 1981-82 it is little less, Rs. 1392 crores. In 1982-83 it is Rs. 3400 crores. In 1983-84 it is Rs. 1817 crores. Sir, in 1984-85, that is, when Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of this country, the deficit was Rs. 3,848 crores. In 1985-86 it was Rs. 4,957 crores. In 1986-87 it was Rs. 8.261 crores. In 1987-88 it was Rs. 5.816 crores. In 1988-89 it was again Rs. 5.642 crores. In 1989-90 it was Rs. 11,750 crores. So, during the Seventh Plan period, that is, between 1984 and 1990, the total deficit was around Rs. 40,000—42,000 crores. ..(*Interruptions*)... Sir, the National Front Government could not do anything. It came to power in the month of December and it had to continue the previous budgetary projections. We had no other alternative except following the budget presented in March 1989. Anyway, I am not talking of the National Front Government or the Congress (I) Government. I am only trying to impress upon you, Sir, that because of this unbridled deficit financing, senseless and reckless spending, the prices of essential commodities and why essential commodities, all other commodities have gone up and have been skyrocketing without any limit at all. Another thing is, the taxation policy of the previous regime also will have to be taken into consideration. Take, for example the administered prices of steel sugar, cole, oils and other commodities. What was its impact on the prices? The Planning Commission and other economists of the country have been warning them, "Don't go in for this kind of a thing" but the Government did not heed it. As a result today the new Government, as soon as it came to power, had to resort to devaluation of the

rupee, had to resort to the sale of gold, had to resort to disinvestment of the public sector share and scrips. So, this is the kind of economy we have and we will have to own the responsibility. There is absolutely no point in trying to brush it aside, there is no point in viewing it on a partisan or party basis. We will have to own the responsibility, we will have to learn from our mistakes.

Sir, there is another aspect which I would like to point out. As I went through the Presidential Address, the Government appeared to be oblivious of the emerging political scenario after the recent General Elections. What is the political scenario now in the country? Sir, we have a minority Government at the Centre. How many different parties are now in power in various States? In Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, the BJP is the ruling party. In two States the Janata Dal is the ruling party. In three, four or five States the Congress Party is the ruling party. So, the days of a single party ruling at the Centre as well as in the States have gone. We will have to forget about it. It will never happen in this country again. In such a case, the Government should have put some thinking on how to manage or how to preserve the delicate balance between the Centre and the States. In this President's Address there is not even a single word about the federal structure of this country, about the Centre —State relations. This is its greatest defect, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Padmanabham, you have got some time. You may like to continue tomorrow.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM Only one point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Do you want to continue tomorrow or do you want to conclude today?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Let him conclude now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): If you can conclude now, you conclude.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: I will conclude only this point. Only one point I would like to make today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Then, you take two minutes and conclude.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: I am talking about federalism. It is totally lacking here. So many States have been making demands for greater fiscal autonomy. Autonomy does not mean secession from the country. No political party, a responsible political party in this country has ever advocated secessation from the Union. Autonomy means that the States should be free to administer their own subjects given to them by the Constitution without any interference from the Centre. This is what we are asking for. We are also asking for greater financial powers, devolution of powers, devolution of financial powers. The State Governments are almost bankrupt, and they are not able to meet the minimum needs of their own people What is wrong in asking for more financial resources? But the previous Governments—I don't want to name them—in their senseless pursuit of more power and more power, have almost destroyed the federal fabric of this country. So, even now, after being defeated, having come to power within a gap of nearly one-and-a-half years or so, the new Government should try to learn about what is happening to the Centre—State relations. The Sarkaria Commission was appointed by their own Government, Mrs. Gandhi's Government. The Sar-

[Shri Mentay Padmanabham]

karia Commission made some recommendations. Even though those recommendations are not to the best satisfaction, are not in the best interest of the States, most of the State Governments have agreed to them, and they are asking for the implementation of these recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. In this document nothing has been said about them. They have absolutely no idea about what is happening between the Centre and the States. I do not know what the policy-makers of the new Government are thinking about the federal structure of the Constitution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Tomorrow I will continue. There are some more points, and I have some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Okay. Now the Finance Minister will make a statement regarding gold transactions.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी हिंदी की प्रतिलिपि नहीं मिली है और यह बराबर होता है । नई सरकार आई है, तब पहली बार ही हो रहा है । हिंदी की कापी जब तक नहीं आए, कोई स्टेटमेंट हम नहीं सुनेंगे ।

यह रूल है कि दोनों भाषाओं में कापी संसद में मिलती रहे । राज्य सभा का कार्यालय क्या कर रहा है ? दोनों भाषाओं में कापी क्यों नहीं दे रहा है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I think now you have. For the information of the Members the copies are not circulated by the Rajya Sabha. I think now you have got the Hindi version of the copy also.

Statement by Minister—Gold Transactions

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are faced with balance of payments crisis of an unprecedented nature. Our foreign exchange reserves have, despite significant borrowings from the IMF in July 1990 and January 1991 fallen to a very low level. Due to the weakening of international confidence in the rupee, international commercial banks have become extremely reluctant to lend us money. For the same reason, inflow of remittances from non-resident Indians into foreign currency and rupee denominated general accounts with banks in India has ceased to be a positive figure and in the last month there were signs of a large net outflow on this account. All over the world, expectations about the future value of the rupee were highly unfavourable and this was encouraging India exporters to delay the remission of export proceeds to India and also encouraging illegal export of capital from India.

It is in this background, that we took the decision on 1st & 3rd July, 1991 to adjust the exchange value of the rupee. This action has had a favourable impact on the psychology of international markets and all the principal players therein. I am confident that over time, the exchange rate adjustment together with the trade policy reform measures we have taken our balance of payments will significantly improve and there will be a return of international confidence in our currency.

However, in the immediate run, we have a major liquidity problem. We have compressed our import bill to an unprecedented degree to save foreign exchange for import of only the most essential articles.

At the same time, we have large external debt service payments falling due. We have taken a firm decision to honour all our international